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THE VICEROY'S POST BAG

MICHAEL MacDONAGH

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THE VICEROY'S POST-BAG

CORRESPONDENCE HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED
OF THE EARL OF HARDWICKE
FIRST LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND
AFTER THE UNION

BY MICHAEL MacDONAGH

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET
1904

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INTRODUCTION

LETTERS a century old, and thousands of them! They deal with Ireland, political and social, in that dark and dismal period when she lay physically prostrate, bruised and broken, after the Rebellion of 1798, and had just been discrowned of her legislative independence by the Union.

* * *

How singularly interesting it is to go through old letters, even if they but treat of the trivial details of the daily round of life—the exchange of thoughts and experiences between friend and friend in unromantic and commonplace circumstances! But here are communications from the most exalted political personages of the opening years of the nineteenth century—Viceroys of Ireland, Prime Ministers, Secretaries of State—and not dry, formal official documents, but letters of the closest intimacy, dealing with matters of high State policy, revealing important secrets of Government, closely guarded hitherto by the imperative injunctions, "Most Private," "Strictly Private and Confidential"; letters of men well known in Irish history, engaged in the hazardous game of revolution; letters of political prisoners written in Dublin dungeons; letters of shameless place-hunters; letters of knaves and hypocrites, in high places and lowly; letters of pimps and

informers. Here, surely, is romance and drama and farce in abundance!

* * *

It is a thrilling experience to peruse these papers of a hundred years ago—many of them with ink as fresh as if they were written but yesterday; others faded and yellow, and difficult to decipher—and to learn from all the prominent actors in the transaction the hitherto unknown tale of the liquidation of the bill in honours, places, and pensions incurred by the Government of the day in the barter of the Irish Parliament; to read the amazing story of the Emmet Insurrection of 1803 as it is told by Viceroy, Chief Secretary, Under Secretary, spies and informers; to follow the development of the treasonable plot, and the Executive counterplot; to see the revolutionary working in the dark, in fancied security, and the secret agents of the Executive reporting his every movement to Dublin Castle.

* * *

For the student of constitutional practice and political history these letters are also most valuable. They illustrate the official relations between the heads of the various departments of the State, and the etiquette which regulates correspondence between them on questions of policy. They also lay bare the jealousies and quarrels of Ministers. It is as if the walls of the departments in Whitehall were removed, and the huge machinery of Government disclosed at work to public view.

* * *

These most interesting and valuable documents are from the post-bag of the Earl of Hardwicke, the first Lord Lieutenant of Ireland after the Union of 1800. They

baffled the keen search of the late Mr. Lecky in the secret archives of Dublin Castle, and were therefore supposed by him to have been destroyed, as he states in his "History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century." For five years Hardwicke held the exalted office of Viceroy of Ireland during the Addington Administration, and the second Administration of Pitt, which followed. He was most methodical and business-like in his habits. He not only kept a copy of every letter, official and private, which he wrote during his term of office to Ministers in London, but retained the replies in his personal possession, and carried them all off on his leaving Ireland in 1806. The papers lay in the deed-room of Wimpole Hall—the seat of the Hardwickes—until three years ago, when they were sold to the trustees of the British Museum, and, having been arranged and classified, were made accessible last year in the Manuscript Department at Bloomsbury.

* * *

I have been permitted by the Home Secretary, the Right Hon. A. Akers-Douglas, to supplement the correspondence dealing with the Emmet Insurrection of 1803 by extracts from the secret papers in the Home Office—in three volumes, and marked "Ireland, 1803. Most Secret and Confidential"—which are now also made public for the first time. They tell a thrilling and true story of Ireland when she began a new epoch in her strangely chequered career.

MICHAEL MacDONAGH.

LONDON,
October, 1904.

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THE VICEROY'S POST-BAG

BOOK I

THE UNION

CHAPTER I

THOSE EMBARRASSING UNION ENGAGEMENTS

In February, 1801, Henry Addington, Prime Minister, was engaged in the task of forming a new Administration.

Through the influence of his political chief and intimate friend, William Pitt, Addington had been elected Speaker of the House of Commons in 1789; and he was again unanimously called to the Chair on January 22, 1801, the opening day of the first session of the United Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland at Westminster. At that time Pitt's position as Prime Minister seemed to be supreme. For the long period of seventeen years he had been at the head of the Government, and there was every prospect at the opening of the year 1801 that his career in office would extend, unchallenged and secure, far into the nineteenth century. He had accomplished the legislative Union of Ireland and Great Britain. One of the first measures of the United Parliament was to be an Act to throw open its doors to the Catholics, to pay stipends to the bishops and priests of the Catholic Church in Ireland, and to relieve, to some extent, at least, the peasantry of the hateful impost of tithes for the main-

tenance of the Protestant Establishment. The statement that such was to be the consummation of Pitt's Irish policy had disarmed the hostility of the influential Irish Catholics—prelates and gentry—to the Union. But Pitt had reckoned without the stubborn conscientious objection to Catholic emancipation of that honest Protestant bigot, George III.

On January 31, 1801, the King held a levee to celebrate the Union of the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland. The intentions of Pitt with regard to the Catholics had just reached the ears of the monarch. The news drove him almost to distraction. Emancipate the Catholics! Was there ever heard such inconceivable folly and madness? "I would rather give up my Throne," he passionately exclaimed, "and beg my bread from door to door throughout Europe, than consent to such a measure!" The enraged King encountered Henry Dundas, a Scottish member of the Administration, at the levee, and stormed at him: "What is this that this young lord has brought over from Ireland, and is going to throw at my head?" He referred to Viscount Castlereagh, Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the Bill to give civil rights to the Catholics. "Listen!" he cried; "I shall reckon any man my personal enemy who proposes any such measure." Had he not taken an oath at his coronation to maintain the Protestant reformed religion? Would he not perjure himself by consenting to Catholics being admitted to Parliament and to offices under the Crown? Dundas endeavoured to explain the subtle constitutional point that the coronation oath bound the sovereign only in his executive capacity, and that as an Estate of the Realm he acted upon the advice of his Ministers, who alone were responsible for legislation. "None of your Scottish metaphysics, Mr. Dundas!" cried the blunt, simple-minded, and unimaginative old monarch. "None of your damned Scottish metaphysics!"

Pitt resigned. The King sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, a man of strong anti-Papist opinions, nad appealed to him to form a Government to resist the

claims of Catholic Ireland. Addington, doubtful as to the result, was unwilling to attempt the task. "Lay your hand upon your heart," said the distracted King, "and ask yourself where I am to turn for support if you do not stand by me." The Speaker then went to Pitt to ascertain whether, if he were to form a Government, it would have Pitt's support in the House of Commons. Pitt was most friendly. Indeed, it is probable he was glad to escape the tremendous project of endeavouring to carry Catholic emancipation. "I see nothing but ruin to the country, Addington, if you hesitate to take office," said he.

Addington no longer hesitated. On February 10 he announced to the House of Commons his resignation of the Speakership in obedience to the King's command to form an Administration. That night he had a long interview with George III. about the men whom he proposed to invite to serve under him in the new Government. The next day the sovereign wrote to him:

"The more the King reflects on the conversation of last night and the proposed arrangements, the more he approves of them; but he blames himself for having omitted to mention the natural, nay very necessary, return of the Marquis Cornwallis from Ireland. He well knows many have thought the office of Lord Lieutenant should altogether cease on such an event. The King's opinion is clearly that, perhaps, hereafter, that may be proper, but that at present it is necessary to fill up the office with a person that shall clearly understand that the Union has closed the reign of Irish jobs; that he is to be a kind of President of the Council there, and that the civil patronage may be open to his recommendation, but must entirely be decided in England."

Charles Abbot, a member of the House of Commons, was offered by Addington the post of Chief Secretary of Ireland, in succession to Lord Castlereagh. "He said to me," says Abbot, "that, sorry as he should be to part with me, he wished Lord Hardwicke to go to Ireland, and me to go with him as his friend and adviser. That

the scene was great, and the business would be to render the Union a real Union." Abbot accepted the office, and at the request of Addington called on Lord Hardwicke at his house in St. James's Square to inquire whether he would go to Ireland as Viceroy if he received the King's command. Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, was the eldest son of the distinguished lawyer, Lord Chancellor Yorke. He had sat in the House of Commons for his native county of Cambridgeshire as a follower of Charles James Fox, and, like all the Whigs of the period, had been friendly to Ireland and to a settlement of the Catholic claims; but in the House of Lords, to which he succeeded in 1790, he supported Pitt, and was still favourably disposed towards Catholic emancipation. He was Colonel of the Cambridgeshire Militia, and had been in Dublin with his regiment during the closing stages of the Rebellion of 1798. At this time he was forty-four years of age, and married.

"I went," writes Abbot on February 20, "and Lord Hardwicke consented upon all public grounds, viz., that he was against now agitating the question of Catholic emancipation, reserving himself for other times and circumstances upon the principle,* and holding that peaceful acts and peaceful demeanour were to be the future claims for such a boon as the Catholics were now expecting."

The next day an official letter from the Prime Minister, dated "Palace Yard, February ye 21, 1801," was delivered to Lord Hardwicke.

"My dear Lord," it ran, "I am very desirous of half an hour's conversation with your Lordship, and should be much obliged to you if you would take the trouble of calling in Palace Yard at such time between the hours of three and five to-day as it may be most convenient to you to appoint."

Hardwicke, accordingly, waited upon Addington that afternoon. He was offered the office of Lord Lieutenant

* Meaning that Hardwicke reserved the right to support Catholic Emancipation in other times and in other circumstances.

of Ireland, "not only with the King's command," as Hardwicke subsequently wrote to a friend, "but with his anxious wish that I should not decline it," and the position was there and then accepted.

The King had fitful lapses into insanity, and weeks passed before the appointment of Hardwicke as Viceroy was confirmed. At last Hardwicke got this note from the Prime Minister, dated "March ye 16":

"I have received his Majesty's command to request that you will be at the Queen's House at twelve o'clock to-morrow, for the purpose of kissing his Majesty's hand as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and of being sworn on the Council."

So, on St. Patrick's Day, 1801, Hardwicke was sworn of the Privy Council, and declared Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, "at the Court of the Queen's House," and "in the presence of His Most Excellent Majesty in Council."

* * *

On the news being published that Hardwicke was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, every post brought him a shoal of letters from all sorts and conditions of persons, appealing for something out of the bounty of his patronage.

Here is Sir John Dalrymple recommending his two sons to the good graces of his Excellency. The elder is Lieutenant-Colonel of the third regiment of Guards "at the age of twenty-five"; the younger "was reckoned the best Algebraist at Cambridge, and therefore must be infinitely useful to your lordship in accounts, to which you are probably not bred." Even the accomplishments of his daughter-in-law were placed by this old Scottish baronet at the service of the Viceroy. "My eldest son's wife," says he, "is one of the finest creatures that ever God made, beautiful and accomplished, draws finely, and highly connected by relations. Lord Craven is her cousin german. She would be a capital companion for my Lady Hardwicke." "At the worst," he adds in a P.S., "recommend my sons to the new Secretary at War."

Here is the Rev. Charles Chester, a clergyman of the

Established Church, in a parish with a small stipend in Oxfordshire, and evidently a distant and poor relation of the Lord Lieutenant. He writes to his brother Robert, a dean, to bring him under the notice of the Lord Lieutenant, and this Robert does by forwarding the letter to his Excellency. "To procure the patronage of his lordship would cheer my drooping spirits not a little," he says, "for I think my prospects in life could not depend upon a better man." "You cannot imagine," he adds, "what a state of flurry and anxiety it has put me in to find any chance of preferment hanging over my head, of which you know I am in no small want, and most anxiously do I wish his lordship may think of me." The post he desires is no less than that of private secretary and chaplain to the Viceroy. "Should his lordship be kind enough to take me, I shall leave my wife and children with their friends in Wales, so that my whole time should be devoted to his service." The note of piteous entreaty thus swells higher and higher in the letter, and finally concludes in the following outburst:

"Indeed, I wish his lordship knew how anxious I feel to accompany him; but should he decline to take me, I shall feel a double mortification here, as all my neighbours, who know that we are related to Lord Hardwicke, are asking me if his lordship does not take me with him."

Poor human nature! How pitiable it figures in this post-bag of an Irish Viceroy! What meanness! What cupidity! There are dozens of letters pouring the most fulsome compliments on the Lord Lieutenant—(what a blessing, they all exclaim, his appointment will prove to Ireland and Great Britain!)—each and every one of them concluding with an appeal for a job. "My son," says one suitor, "who is lately connected and married into one of the most respectable families in Ireland, desires to unite with me in the same expression, and would esteem the honour of serving your Excellency in the Church as the utmost object of his ambition."

* * *

Lord Hardwicke sent replies, at once courteous and evasive, to his host of suitors. He had need to be extremely cautious and niggardly in his promises. "Keep this advice in mind," wrote the Earl of Westmorland, an ex-Viceroy: "take as few persons to Ireland as you can help from this country, as they will be a constant plague for a provision. Those you find there have not that claim." But that was not the reason why Hardwicke refrained from entering into any engagement whatever in regard to the exercise of the patronage of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. After he had been confirmed in office the following ominous epistle from the Marquis Cornwallis, the outgoing Viceroy, was laid before him by the Duke of Portland—the Home Secretary of Pitt's Administration—to whom it was addressed:

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*February* 19, 1801.

"MY LORD,

"As my continuance in the situation I have the honour to hold may not be long enough to enable me to fulfil all the engagements which I have thought it my duty to contract on the part of His Majesty's Government, and by direction of his Ministers, repeatedly conveyed to me by your Grace, I feel myself particularly bound by every tie and obligation at the present moment to draw your Grace's attention to this subject.

"The general nature and extent of those engagements has been communicated and explained to your Grace by the Chief Secretary, my Lord Viscount Castlereagh, and he will lay before you an accurate detail of them.

"Much anxiety is daily manifested by those gentlemen whose expectations I have not yet been enabled to fulfil, and though I endeavour to impress on their minds an assurance that their just hopes will not be disappointed by any change in His Majesty's Councils, they intimate a wish to receive that assurance from the authority of those with whom the future administration of Ireland may be connected.

"I am, therefore, to request your Grace will take the earliest opportunity of conferring with His Majesty's Ministers upon this subject, and that you will furnish me

with an official authority to assure all those gentlemen who have any promise of favour in consequence of the Union that they will be fully provided for according to the extent of the engagements made with them, and that no new pretensions will be allowed to interfere with their prior and superior claims.

"I have, etc.,
"CORNWALLIS."

This was the embarrassing heritage which the Viceroy who carried the Union left to his successor.

* * *

At length, on May 25, 1801—more than two months after his appointment as Viceroy—Lord Hardwicke arrived in Ireland, and was inducted Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in the Privy Council Chamber, Dublin Castle. Two days later his predecessor, the Marquis Cornwallis, sailed for England. It was a difficult situation, that in which Hardwicke now found himself—the first Viceroy of Ireland after the Union. He was a man of common-sense and moderate views, with a practical judgment in affairs. His correspondence also shows that he regarded his office as that of a peace-maker—to win the esteem and confidence of all classes of the Irish people for himself, and to unite them in attachment to the Union of Ireland and Great Britain.

On the first question of the time, the emancipation of the Catholics, he sets forth his views in a private letter to a friend, just on the eve of his leaving London for Ireland:

"I am rather inclined to think with Mr. Pitt," he says, "that had this measure of enabling the Catholics to sit in Parliament been brought forward by the Government, as a measure accompanying the Union, it would have tended to produce conciliation and quiet in Ireland; and that it would have been hardly possible for the Catholics, with all their intrigue and perseverance, to have brought any number of members to the House of Commons. At present, however, our business is to postpone it."

Then he goes on to enlarge upon a still vexed point in the history of the Union—whether Pitt definitely pledged himself as Prime Minister to the Irish Catholics to propose Catholic emancipation in the Imperial Parliament:

"You may be assured," he says, "that no pledge or promise was given to the Catholics upon this subject, and that it rests merely upon Mr. Pitt's general ideas thrown out in his speech of January, 1799, when he opened the question of Union. They had reason to believe that it would be brought forward by Government, and were, of course, more anxious for the Union upon that account, but there has been no promise of any sort whatever."

* * *

The office of private secretary to the Lord Lieutenant was filled by the Hon. and Rev. Charles Lindsay, a relation of Lord Hardwicke, and a clergyman who had two livings "without care of souls" in England. Hardwicke's brother, Charles Yorke, was Minister for War in the Addington Administration, and to him Lindsay sent several letters reporting, at this early stage, the progress of the Lord Lieutenant, which Yorke seems to have sent back to his brother in Dublin. Writing in June, 1801, Lindsay says:

"The citizens of Dublin are by no means reconciled to the Union. They have pettishly slackened their manufactures, and now begin to wonder that their articles are wanted. It is at this precise moment, therefore, that all are to be coaxed upon whom civilities have influence; and as trade must resume its channel, it will appear to receive a greater stimulant than the reality from the patronage of the female part of the Castle. With respect to the first, I think you will agree with me in thinking that the natural manner and real civility of our Chief Governor will work their way with more effect than the complacency of a more finished courtier. And in regard to the latter, as it is plain our fellow-subjects here are compounded of self-love and vanity, having their interest constantly in view—but in particular instances constantly sacrificing it to their figure in life—it follows that a spur to trade will operate on men, who mix the characters of tradesmen and gentlemen so ridiculously together, with manifold powers."

* * *

The Union engagements practically deprived Lord Hardwicke of the prerogative of patronage which attached to his office as deputy of the King in Ireland. He had little left to give to his own relations and friends, or to those who had claims on his bounty for services rendered. In the circumstances, how irritating must have been the applications from unknown place-hunters. Here is a specimen, the audacity of which is truly colossal:

"13, SUFFOLK STREET, DUBLIN,
"*May* 27, 1801.

"MY LORD,

"It is a matter of some relief to me that when I enter upon the subject of an address to a man of your birth and consideration I am not driven to the difficulty of prefacing it by panegyrizing letters. The moment I heard of your lordship's appointment to the Government of this country, I sat down, and in the sincerity of my heart congratulated your regimental surgeon, and my worthy and highly-valued friend, Mr. Other, by letter on that event. Mr. Other attended me whilst in Dublin, and gave me his surgical and friendly aid when I met with a very severe accident—indeed, that of having broken my leg—which accident it has not been my fortune yet to have retrieved.

"I am certainly unknown to your Excellency, and would feel the usual dismay and embarrassment but for the reasons I have already mentioned. In the seventh year of an high and honourable profession, in which the great and good Lord Hardwicke was the honour and the ornament, my progress has been much impeded; but my loyalty to my Sovereign, and my love for the law, and my personal exertions in their protection, were alert and unremitting. Previous to the Rebellion I was one of the few of the Irish Bar who voted for the armament of that body, and when that Rebellion was at its height I directed my every effort to its final overthrow. Pardon me here, my lord, for thus speaking of a fact which was no more than a duty; but as I discharged that duty with zeal and fidelity, contrasted with other individuals, I presume to have some claim to your Excellency's notice.

"On the subject of the Union I acknowledge I differed with some of my old friends, and thought it a measure not

calculated for the benefit of either country, and therefore did from principle publicly write and speak against it; but I trust that a candour of that sort will not shut me for ever from the countenance of a Government whose ready and willing servant I have constantly proved myself to be.

"Having still some interest in the city, I beg, under your Excellency's encouragement, to use it to the promotion of your wise and auspicious Administration. Deign, therefore, to bear me in recollection, amid the bustle and splendour of an arduous and important situation. Could I be but honoured with an interview I should show in what manner that my humble services might be employed.

"I pray your lordship's answer, and have the honour to remain, with infinite truth and respect, your Excellency's most devoted humble servant,

"ISAAC BURKE BETHEL."

He was politely but decisively informed that no hope of a place could be held out to him. But Isaac Burke Bethel was not to be shaken off so easily. He called on Lindsay at the Castle, but was not received. "I did myself the honour of waiting upon you," he subsequently writes to Lindsay, "in order to tell you that I have written a small essay complimentary of his Excellency and his auxiliaries in office." The letter is endorsed, "This kind of thing to be civilly discouraged.—C. L." Bethel, however, still refused to be discouraged. On October 23, 1801, he again writes to Lindsay:

"Having troubled his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant with an offer of my humble services upon his arrival in this kingdom, and having received a polite note from you in answer as his relative and private secretary, I beg leave again to intrude myself upon you, and to inform you that I had it in contemplation to bring forward a work, strictly and constitutionally loyal, which would have produced me something very handsome by the sale, in which, as may be seen in manuscript, the most honourable testimony of Lord Hardwicke's private character is evinced. The arrival of that looked-for blessing,

peace,* has induced me to lay aside the idea of publication for the present. I still have a wish to show my readiness to serve the Government in any way that is most congenial to his Excellency's mind. My professional receipts, I am sorry to say, have fallen off, and if his Excellency would prevail on the Chancellor to make me a Commissioner of Bankruptcy, I should deem myself most gratefully bound to his Excellency, to his Administration, and to his family."

Lindsay now seems to have lost all patience with Bethel. A copy of his reply to the place-hunter was not preserved, but that it was neither civil nor polite is apparent from the following humorous acknowledgment from Bethel:

"Your letter, which I got last night on my table, certainly did not contain either oil or wine. I have now only to request of you a favour which Sir Robert Walpole granted to a young courtier similarly circumstanced, and that is that you will do me the honour of a salute whenever you meet me. I hear that Sir Robert's condescension made the young fellow's fortune. The ladies in St. James's Park were candidates for his person, and he shortly yielded to the solicitations of one for whom he had *ten thousand reasons* of making the successful partner of his heart."

So Isaac Burke Bethel was kicked out into obscurity, for we hear no more of him, or his small complimentary essay, or his strictly constitutional and loyal work; but—the fortunate possessor of a light heart—he disappears with a joke on his lips.

* * *

The Rev. Charles Chester, one of Hardwicke's poor relations, has already been mentioned as a suppliant for preferment in Ireland. The Lord Lieutenant appointed him one of the Viceregal Chaplains, which required only an occasional visit to Dublin. But his ambition was a place on the Irish Episcopal Bench; and in a letter to

* The preliminary article of the peace between Great Britain and France was signed on October 1, 1801, the definitive treaty being subscribed at Amiens in the March following.

Lindsay, the Viceroy's private secretary, he sets forth what he calls his "candid sentiments" on the chances of having his object realized. Candid, indeed! It is a barefaced manifestation of worldliness and avarice:

"BOTTISHAM,
"*February* 17, 1802.

"MY DEAR LINDSAY,

"I am much obliged to you for your kind letter which came to hand last night, and I was glad to find by it that you were all going on well in Ireland. I am very happy to hear that matters have enabled the Lord Lieutenant to pay off so many claims, and now that promotion seems dropping fast, I am particularly obliged to you for thinking of me.

"But however acceptable any preferment in Ireland might be to me, I am sorry to say there is not the smallest chance of my being able to get the appointment of my present living for anybody. It is, however, no great matter, as it has never yet cleared to me £100. It is in Oxfordshire, and in the disposal of Sir Clement Cottrell; and when I tell you that the church and parsonage are in Sir C.'s park, and adjoining his own seat, it will at once strike you that he never would give it to a stranger, nor even to any man he did not highly regard, lest such man should prove a disagreeable neighbour. So that I really doubt if I could get it for my own son (were he old enough), for if Sir C. did not like him I know he would not give it to him. This point, therefore, cannot be gained, and I can only say that I wish Lord Hardwicke should understand that I am in no particular hurry to be preferred, and can by no means expect anything till he has satisfied all prior engagements.

"Moreover, I often think of what you and I most fully agreed upon, that there are very few livings (with care of souls) in Ireland that can be desirable to an Englishman, from the great uncertainty of their value, and therefore I must own that I should hesitate at the idea of giving up a small certainty in Oxfordshire for any great uncertainty in Ireland; for I at this moment know two men who, with livings about £1,000 a year, have not received a shilling for the last four years, and worse times may yet come to pass there. Add to this that if I could mend my income some hundreds a year by living in Ireland, the difference

of the expense of educating my family and occasional calls to London by family duty and business would not a little cut into it, and you will allow there should be a good balance to compensate the sacrifice of leaving one's country and all family connections, though I by no means say that I may not be induced so to do by many good things there besides bishopricks, and shall be thankful for every offer that may be made to me.

"As you say in your letter to me, a bird in the hand is better than a distant contingency. So it often is, and I should, perhaps, for that reason, have been glad to catch at the first offer from many a man in Lord Hardwicke's station; but I too well know his character and goodness of heart to harbour the smallest doubt of his not providing for me in due time; and although the Irish Bishops have not dropped as they did at the beginning of Lord Camden's reign, whose second chaplain, Dr. Porter, got a bishoprick in a few months, still, luck may be in store, and many may drop in the course of another year or two.

"It is not improbable I may, some day or other, but have to congratulate you on being seated at Dublin, for the present Arch-B. is by all accounts a bad life, and as Lord Hardwicke is now likely to continue long in his situation, he may very probably be able to place me, and two or three more after you, upon the Irish Bench. But in case of any unforeseen contingency preventing his doing thus much for me, I cannot have a doubt but you will be thus exalted; and then, as you once hinted to me, it could be no difficult matter for Lord Hardwicke to procure one, if not both of your livings in England for me. Such, my dear Lindsay, are my candid sentiments upon this subject; and such are my reasons for not being in a hurry to grasp at a care of souls (not too good, I fear) in Ireland.

"I am highly flattered by Lord Hardwicke's kind and handsome intentions towards me; and I am sure I am greatly obliged to you for your kind anxiety to promote my interest with him. I am obliged to you and the other gentlemen who preached on the days appointed for my turn, which I shall not forget when I come to Dublin; and am,

"Yours most sincerely,

"CH. CHESTER."

* * *

Here is a letter from Richard Longfield, of Longueville, co. Cork, Lord Longueville, addressed, in April, 1802, to the Earl of Westmorland, entreating the ex-Viceroy to recommend him to Hardwicke: "It is now thirteen years," he says, "since I accepted the patronage of the district of Cork in lieu of office. For some years I had great satisfaction in the preference; but for the last three years my claims have been infringed, and attended with very unpleasant circumstances." In truth, the Irish Executive, during these three years, had employed all the patronage at their disposal to sap and disintegrate the opposition to the Union, a measure which was determined upon by Pitt during the Rebellion of 1798. In the Viceroy's post-bag I came upon a letter from Castlereagh, written from Harrogate, where he was "taking the waters," on August 10, 1801, to Hardwicke in reference to the Union engagements. "The arrangements of the Government with a view to the accomplishment of the measure were begun," he says, "as early as in the month of October, 1798."

Lord Longueville goes on to point out that he wrote to Pitt complaining of the action of the Irish Executive in appointing over his head to offices in his patronage within the Revenue district of Cork. "My wishes now," he adds, "are to be left in uninterrupted possession of the patronage of the district of Cork until an equivalent in office shall be held out to me, or until a friend of my recommendation shall get the Bishopric of Cork or Cloyne. The patronage of either of those situations would make me ample amends for the relinquishment of the patronage of the Revenue district of Cork." What were his services to the Government? He had secured the seats for Cork and Mallow in the Irish Parliament in the interest of Pitt for years at a cost of £30,000, and had supported the Union. And what was his reward? He forgets to mention, in replying to his question, that for his services on behalf of the Union he was elected an Irish representative peer in the first group of twenty-eight Irish peers which, under the terms of the Act of Union,

were to represent Ireland in the House of Lords of the Imperial Parliament; and that in December, 1800, he was advanced from a Baron to a Viscount in the Irish peerage. What he does say is that he was ignored in the distribution of offices and sinecures because he had not made a bargain with the Irish Executive for his support of the Union in the Irish House of Lords, and for the votes of the representatives of his pocket boroughs in the Irish House of Commons. "Lord Shannon, who has ever been my opponent," he says, "is First Lord of the Irish Treasury at £3,000 a year. Lord Boyle has the reversion of Lord Liverpool's place, Clerk of the Pells, £3,500 a year. Lord Donoughmore, as Commissioner, £1,000 a year; as searcher, packer, and gauger, £2,000 a year." "Contrast their situations and mine," he says in a final outburst of virtue unrequited. "I have never varied in my support; I never made terms for the Union, or any measure Mr. Pitt or you recommended; I never by any accident received one guinea of public money for my own use for any office or situation."

Richard Hely-Hutchinson, Lord Donoughmore, to whom Longueville refers as one of his rivals in the distribution of the patronage of Cork, was advanced to an earldom in December, 1800, for his services in support of the Union; and, as Longueville indicates, held two lucrative offices under the Crown—a Commissionership of the Revenue at £1,000, and the sinecure post of "searcher, packer, and gauger" at £2,000, per annum. His brother, Francis Hely-Hutchinson, M.P., was also in the enjoyment of the Collectorship of Dublin Port, with a salary of £1,200 a year. Another brother, John, a distinguished soldier, who commanded the army in Egypt, had just been raised to the peerage, for his military services, as Baron Hutchinson of Alexandria and Knocklofty, co. Tipperary, with a pension of £2,000 a year. But Lord Donoughmore was not yet satisfied with the many good things which had fallen to his family. He desired for another brother, Abraham Hely-Hutchinson, that very post in Cork—a city represented in Parliament by a

fourth brother, Christopher Hely-Hutchinson—which Lord Longueville, in writing to Westmorland, also coveted Here is Donoughmore's letter to Lord Hardwicke :

" KNOCKLOFTY,
" *April* 8, 1802.

" MY LORD,

" Mr. Foster, the Collector of Excise at Cork, being represented to me to be so dangerously ill as to make his immediate dissolution almost unavoidable, will your Excellency have the goodness to permit me, in such an event, to submit my brother, Mr. Abraham Hely-Hutchinson, to your Excellency's kind consideration for that appointment ? The representation of the city in which this vacancy is likely to take place has been held by my family, without any interruption, since the commencement of the present reign. Its present representative, as well as the brother for whom I now solicit, have been employed, not unworthily, as Volunteers with the troops in Egypt ; and on the subject of Union, so interesting to the British Empire, and on which so hard a battle was fought, I could with confidence refer your Excellency to Marquis Cornwallis, your Excellency's predecessor in the Government of Ireland, from whom, as well as from Lord Castlereagh, I have the satisfaction of having in my possession the strongest and most honourable acknowledgments of my exertions, and those of my family, on that occasion.

" These are my humble pretensions to the favour I take the liberty of soliciting ; to which I must be permitted to add those marks of personal attention which I have on all occasions had the honour of experiencing from your Excellency. I have the honour to be, with great respect, my Lord,

" Your Excellency's faithful, humble servant,

" DONOUGHMORE."

* * *

Hardwicke sent the following reply to Donoughmore :

" MY DEAR LORD,

" No circumstance has occurred since my arrival in this country which has made me regret more sensibly the very particular situation in which I am placed in regard to engagements than the letter which I received

from your lordship the day before yesterday. Before my appointment to the government of this country I was apprised of the numerous engagements which Lord Cornwallis had been obliged to make, and which, as there could be little expectation of his being enabled to satisfy them during the period he was likely to remain in Ireland, had been expressly sanctioned by his Majesty's Government in England, and were delivered to me under that sanction by Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh. I am, therefore, under the necessity, in the disposal of whatever situation may become vacant, of looking to the satisfaction of one or other of the engagements which I have adopted; and am, therefore, precluded from making any application of the valuable office which is lately become vacant at Cork, that shall not have that object particularly in view.

"I flatter myself your lordship will give me credit for a very sincere disposition to satisfy your personal wishes, and to show that respect and regard to your family to which they are so well entitled. In both those sentiments generally I am sure that every branch of the King's Government will concur; and I beg leave for myself to assure your lordship that this feeling has received additional force from my personal acquaintance and intercourse with your lordship since my arrival in Ireland. If you should be of opinion that any mode can be pointed out, in conversation with myself or Mr. Marsden, after your lordship's return to Dublin, by which the wish you have expressed can be made consistent with the object to which I am bound most scrupulously to adhere, it will afford me particular satisfaction."*

* * *

Further light is thrown on this struggle between Longueville and Donoughmore for the reversion of the Cork Collectorship of Excise, and on the determination of Hardwicke to satisfy, as speedily as possible, the Union engagements, by the answer which was returned to Longueville's letter to Westmorland. That communication was sent by Westmorland to Addington, forwarded by Addington to William Wickham—then the Chief Secretary for Ireland—and upon it Wickham made

* Abraham Hely-Hutchinson was ultimately appointed to the Collectorship of Clonmel.

a "private and confidential" report for the Prime Minister, a copy of which he sent to the Lord Lieutenant. It is dated "St. James's Place, April 25, 1802," and is as follows:

"Lord Longueville had very considerable Parliamentary influence in Ireland, always voted with the Government, and strongly supported the Union, for which services he obtained, among other things, a promotion in the Peerage, a seat here in the House of Lords, a seat at the Revenue Board, and what is called the patronage of Cork, jointly with Lord Donoughmore. But the Lord Lieutenant says, *first*, 'I will never suffer what is called the patronage of a place to be construed to extend to situations of £700 a year, such as the Collectorship of Cork, which must necessarily be reserved to Government'; *secondly*, all engagements of the kind (supposing the Collectorship to be included under the word patronage) must give way to positive and specified Union engagements; *thirdly*, Union engagements, ever since Lord Hardwicke went over, have been, *without exception*, preferred to all others, so that we should have some of the first people, and many of our best friends, seriously dissatisfied, and with reason, if an exception to the general rule were made in favour of Lord Longueville.

"Lord Longueville knew all this long before he wrote the letter you have sent me to Lord Westmorland, and long before the place became vacant, for I find among the Speaker's papers the following memorandum:

"'*March*, 1801.—Lord Longueville states quarrel with Lord Castlereagh; remains attached to Mr. Pitt and Lord Westmorland; desires patronage of Revenue offices in Cork, or to recommend to Bishoprick of Cork or Cloyne. Answered—That the application would be remembered, but could not be agreed to, directly or indirectly.

"'*March*, 1801.—Same demands renewed to Lord Hardwicke thro' Lord Westmorland. Answered nearly in same manner, adding that at all events *Union engagements must have the preference.*

"'*June* 16, 1801.—Demand renewed again for patronage of Cork to Lord Lieutenant. Answered as before.

"'*December* 19.—Demand that Mr. Foster, the late Collector, then living, should resign to Mr. O'Connor,

the person whom Lord Longueville now wished to appoint. Answered—That the thing could not be, *because the place in question must be reserved to fulfil Union engagements.*'

"But the fact is that Lord Donoughmore has an equal *claim* to the place with Lord Longueville, if any claim at all be admitted, which we are all bound most stoutly to deny. All that the Lord Lieutenant desires is to give the place (being one of great confidence) to a proper person, and to get rid of a Union engagement. For this purpose he will give it either to Lord Donoughmore or Lord Longueville against their respective promises of places, under Union engagements, of £500 a year each, though the Collectorship is £750, and you may be assured that though they may chuse to make a great noise about the matter, they will be, either of them, very glad to make such an arrangement."

A few days later Wickham, writing to the Lord Lieutenant, reports:

"N.B.—I saw Mr. Addington on the 27th April, who told me that in consequence of my letter he had distinctly told Lord Westmorland that Lord Longueville could not have the Collectorship without giving up an equivalent to satisfy an Union engagement."

Thus for years Lord Longueville persisted in advancing his claim to appoint to the bishopric of Cork whenever it might become vacant. But his claim was ignored, because it was not a Union engagement. Besides, his lordship was a most constant supporter of the Government, and therefore did not count. "With regard to Lord Longueville," Hardwicke wrote to the Home Secretary in 1803, "it would be certainly too much to promise him the reversion of the bishopric of Cork, and it is not necessary for the purpose of keeping him steady."

* * *

Even political services, however notable, were not allowed by Hardwicke to supersede any claim, however insignificant or undeserving, on the sacred "List

of Union Engagements." Here is a striking instance of services to the State in troublous times allowed to go unrequited because of the promises of posts and pensions so lavishly distributed by Lord Cornwallis to win support for the Union :

"ANTRIM,
"*7th February*, 1802.

"MY LORD,

"On the ground of public services rendered to this Kingdom by my son and myself, I am convinced your Excellency will pardon the trouble which I am about to give, and which I should not at present do but from an occurrence which has lately taken place here.

"It will be necessary to make a short statement of the services of my son and myself, as your Excellency is, perhaps, unacquainted with them. It is no less singular than true that the two pieces of intelligence, productive of the events which the Secret Committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons of Ireland reported to be the salvation of the country, came, the one from me and the other from my son. I prefer'd a memorial to the Marquis Cornwallis on the 10th of October, 1798, setting forth that on the 17th day of February, 1797, I seized papers which would have eluded the search of most people, and which I transmitted to Government ; and I received a letter from Mr. Secretary Cooke, dated 22nd February, 1797, thanking me, by Lord Camden's command, for the most essential information contained in them. I stated in this memorial that in consequence of this information the decisive steps were taken on the 3rd of March, 1797, which the Committees of the Lords and Commons reported to be the salvation of the country.

"I forwarded on the 11th October, 1798, a copy of this memorial to Lord Camden, who was acquainted with the facts stated in the memorial, in which I set forth that the Secret Committee of the House of Lords reported that the saving of the country was in a great measure to be attributed to the spirited conduct of the Visitors of the College at the College Visitation. I also stated that this Visitation was held in consequence of information given by my son to the Provost of the College, who told me that the salvation of the College was owing to the spirited

conduct of my son.* In consequence of this spirited conduct he gave up the almost certain prospect of a Fellowship in said College, as appeared by the certificate of the Provost and Senior Fellows of the College, I having taken his name off the books to avoid assassination, after his having risk'd his life more than once in duels for the service of the country. In answer to my letter enclosing the memorial stating the above facts to Lord Camden I received the following letter from his Lordship :

"BRIGHTHELMSTONE,
"*November 4th*, 1798.

"'SIR,

"'I have received your letter of the 11th October. The statement you have made of the circumstances in which you were engaged, and of the encouragement to expect preferment which you received, is perfectly correct ; and I shall be very happy to hear that you receive any mark of the attention of Government.

"'I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

"'CAMDEN.'

"In July last I wrote to Lord Pelham relating to my son, and received the following answer :

"PUTNEY,
"*July 21st*, 1801.

"'SIR,

"'I have this day received the favour of yours of the 13th, containing copies of letters from Lord Macartney and your son to yourself. I mentioned your son's name to Lord Hardwicke before he left England, and have no doubt that he will attend to my recommendation. At the same time I cannot pretend to say that he may be able to do so to the extent of your son's wishes. My original application to Lord Cornwallis was for a Commission in the Engineers, and

* The College Visitation is a well-known episode in the history of the Rebellion of 1798. It was conducted by the Earl of Clare, Lord Chancellor, to inquire how far treasonable sentiments had permeated the students. The investigation led to the expulsion of several scholars, students, and sizars, including Robert Emmet.

I believe that Lord Cornwallis was at all times very much inclined to serve your son.

"'I am your most obedient, humble servant,

"'PELHAM.'

"I heard yesterday, from Mr. McNaghten at Lord O'Neill's, that my old class-fellow, Dean Dobbs, died on Thursday last. He was Dean of Connor, a preferment worth £400, which he communicated to me, having some thoughts of exchanging with me for some of my preferments for his sons, if it could be accomplished. My son, who was recommended to your Excellency by Lord Pelham on the ground of public services, and who is at present a first Lieutenant in the Artillery, has taken his degree in Dublin College, and has attended the course of Divinity lectures, by which he is qualified to be ordained. May I, on the ground of both our services, suggest to your Excellency the measure of appointing me to the Deanery of Connor, in which diocese I have been a beneficed clergyman for upwards of thirty years, and leaving me to apply to the Marquis of Donegall, from whom I got all my preferment in the Church as a private patron, in order to get my son presented to some of my parishes; by which means my son and I would be taken off the hands of Government; and I trust your Excellency will be of opinion that my request is not unreasonable.

"In case this request cannot be at present complied with, I trust you will not take the application amiss.

"I am your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

"GEO. MACARTNEY."

The reply of the Lord Lieutenant, which he scrawled, with many emendations and alterations, on a vacant page of Macartney's letter, to be copied and forwarded by his private secretary, must have given little comfort to the reverend doctor:

"SIR,

"From the statement you have made in your letter of the 7th inst. I should have been very happy to have had it in my power to return a more satisfactory answer to your application with respect to the deanery of Connor. I am, unfortunately, so circumstanced in

regard to ecclesiastical preferment, that whenever a vacancy occurs I am under the necessity of applying it to the satisfaction of one or other of the Union engagements of my predecessor. I am consequently entirely precluded at present from granting any of your wishes."

Another claimant for recognition of services rendered to the State was the Rev. Philip Johnson, Derriaghy, Antrim. Writing in July, 1804, he says, with reference to his public conduct in the years 1793 and 1796:

"At the commencement of the former of those years an attempt was made by some factious Democrats in this neighbourhood to induce the inhabitants of my parish to join in measures which I always considered as tending to promote sedition and rebellion. They proposed to send delegates from Derriaghy to Ballymena, to consult with other delegates about new modelling the Constitution. On this occasion I did not adopt the same timid line of conduct with many others, I did not withdraw myself from the danger, I met them in full assembly, I came prepared for the contest, I opposed the resolutions, they were rejected and others of a direct contrary tendency were proposed by me, carried, and published. The odium of every factious and disloyal man which I thus incurred was much increased in the year 1796, when my contiguity to that grand focus of sedition, the town of Belfast, and the maturity which their schemes had then acquired, made it necessary for every loyal man to take an active decided part. Having as a magistrate received information of the treasonable designs then in agitation, which I communicated to Government, generally through the medium of Lord Castlereagh, to whom I am well known, I thought it proper to adopt measures which might check their machinations; and before the establishment of the Yeomanry Corps I conceived a plan which I submitted to Lord O'Neill, then Governor of the County, and to my Lord Castlereagh, and thro' them to Government; and which at least was not disapproved of, and agreeable to which I soon after formed five or six parishes, being a principal part of my Lord Hertford's estates, into small armed bodies, including every loyal Protestant, who were in some degree organized and prepared to check the

progress of sedition, and withstand the open attempts of the disaffected.

"Their capability of doing so was exemplified in my own parish on the 12th of November, 1796, when the first and only attempt was made in this neighbourhood to assemble large bodies of the disaffected under the pretence of digging potatoes for an individual who had shewn that he possessed the same principles and was then in confinement. I got information of their intention before the time of meeting. The place where they were to assemble was some miles distant from me, in the most unfrequented and least civilized part of my parish. Yet I did not hesitate to meet them. I gave notice of my design to the leading men of the loyalist associations. We came upon them from different quarters, we instantly dispersed them, and took more than forty prisoners, whom I conducted to the town of Lisburn, and there detained them till I sent for the late Lord Downshire, who was then at Hillsborough, and they were afterwards disposed of agreeable to his lordship's pleasure.

"The resentment was great which I had incurred from the disaffected before this time, especially by the informations which I had received and communicated to Government of their proceedings, and which even induced my Lord Castlereagh to come to Lisburn that he might superintend the execution of the arrests which Government had resolved on. I had the honour to second his lordship on this occasion. I assisted in forming the plan, and was the person who in company with his lordship made a prisoner of Charles Teeling in the town of Lisburn,* which was the commencement of the active measures then adopted by Government. I after-

* Charles Hamilton Teeling was one of the leaders of the Ulster United Irishmen. In his "Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion" he gives an interesting account of his arrest in September, 1796. As he was riding with his father through the streets of Lisburn Lord Castlereagh met them. "He accosted us with his usual courtesy," says Teeling. "We had proceeded up the streets of Lisburn together, when, having reached the house of his uncle, the Marquis of Hertford, we were about to take leave of his lordship. 'I regret,' said he, addressing my father, 'that your son cannot accompany you,' conducting me at the same time through the outer gate, which, to my inexpressible astonishment, was instantly closed, and I found myself surrounded by a military guard." Teeling was detained in prison without trial for about two years, and then released.

wards accompanied his lordship in several expeditions by day and night to apprehend the persons against whom I had received information, the immediate consequences of which to myself were that repeated attempts were made to assassinate me. One on the 8th of October, 1796, had nearly proved fatal. I was attacked by two assassins armed with bayonets and pistols about nine o'clock at night in a street of Lisburn, immediately after I had taken into custody persons charged with treason. One of the villains fired a pistol at me behind my back; the ball entered my shoulder, and was extracted at my breast. Government offered a reward of £300 for discovering these fellows, but in vain.

"I soon recovered from the effects of my wound, and my ardour was not damped. On the 12th of November following, before my wound was quite healed, I was able to enter again on active service, as I have already mentioned. From that time to the present I have continued to use every effort in my power to shew my loyalty and to serve my country. To enable me to do so I asked and was appointed to be Captain of two Corps of Yeomanry, the Ballymacash Loyal Infantry, and the Derriaghy Supplementaries,—the former consisting of 150 non-commissioned officers and privates, the latter of 106.

"But I have not, as yet, received or asked from Government any emolument or compensation to myself for what I have done or suffered. I have been found fault with by my friends on this account; they urge me to lay aside my reserve, and in compliance with their wishes I have taken the liberty of laying this detail before your Excellency. For the truth of everything I have here mentioned I would appeal to any person who has had an opportunity of knowing it, especially to my Lord Castlereagh, respecting those circumstances where I have used his name, or to my Lord Hertford, on whose estate I was born and have always lived, and who knows my family, my public and private character and myself. If, after having ascertained that I have stated nothing but the truth, your Excellency thinks me deserving of any favour, I would receive it in the line of my profession as a clergyman with the sincerest gratitude, particularly if you will confer on me the rectory of Ahoghil,* now vacant by the

* On the margin of the letter there is a note scrawled in pencil by Hardwicke: "Given to the Rev. Mr. Leslie at the particular request of Lord Hertford."

death of the Rev. Edward Hudson, which is in the gift of Government.

"I have the honour to remain your Excellency's most faithful and devoted humble servant,

"PHILIP JOHNSON."

"To which I might have added—That at no period either before or since 1796 have my exertions in support of the Laws and Constitution been wanting when they appeared likely to prove useful. I take no notice of what I did in 1798, many thousands did the same—that is, everything in their power to suppress an unnatural Rebellion, which threatened ruin and destruction to all. But in the year 1800 I found myself on the great question of the Union in a peculiar and trying situation. I had made up my own mind on the subject, and I thought differently from many loyal honest men, with whom I had formerly acted. Some time before this I had become an Orangeman, when I was convinced that the Institution was founded on principles in which all loyal Protestants could join, that it could not be suppressed without injuring the cause of Loyalty, and that it might be highly useful if properly directed, tho' like everything that is good it might be liable to abuse. I could not afterwards refuse, when called upon, to take a lead in it. I was made a master, then district master of Lisburn, and, on the first vacancy, grand master of the County of Antrim.

"When the question of Union came to be agitated, Orangemen were divided in their opinions, and publications appeared under their name repudiating the measure. Some men in elevated stations, particularly the late Lord Downshire, wished to make use of them as an instrument, and encouraged them in their opposition. I was aware of the bad effects which might attend their interference; and Mr. Smith of Lisburn shewed me a letter from Lord Londonderry requesting his assistance in preventing the Orangemen of this neighbourhood from throwing their weight into the scale of opposition. Mr. Smith is not an Orangeman, and could do nothing; but at my desire he sent his lordship a copy of the enclosed address then in contemplation from the Grand Lodge of the County of Antrim, which I proposed, brought forward, and which,

being published, put a stop to the business.* From this time they were never known as Orangemen to decide or give an opinion on that or any other political subject. I enclose another address which, as Grand Master of the County, I thought right to publish on the renewal of the War, and a copy of our Obligation.

"I was unwilling, however, to mention these circumstances to his Excellency, not knowing whether they would increase or lessen my interest with Administration; tho' I might have assured him in the most positive manner that my influence would continue to be exerted, as it always has been, in promoting what is evidently conducive to the cause of Loyalty, and a due obedience to the Laws. I might have gone further, and have given it as my opinion, to which my own conduct will, certainly, be conformable, if our Government shall clearly and decidedly express their wish totally to suppress the Orange Institution, that from thence forward it will be, if not altogether dissolved, at least rendered incapable of giving offence even to its enemies."

With Johnson's letter there is a half-sheet of note-paper, on which the Lord Lieutenant wrote the following pencilled directions for his private secretary:

"Inform Mr. J. that though it is not in my power to comply with his request on account of the number of

* "In spite of the resolution in favour of neutrality passed by the Grand Lodge, the Orangemen over a great part of Ireland were straining fiercely, like hounds in the leash. Few things in the history of this period are more curious than the many Orange resolutions protesting against the Union. The Grand Lodge was accused of having betrayed the country under the influence of a few great placeholders. Representations of no less than thirty-six lodges assembled at Armagh declared that it made no material difference whether the Constitution was robbed by open and avowed enemies or by pretended friends, who were, in reality, the deadliest enemies of the country, and that it was the duty of all Orangemen to stand forward in opposition to the impending measure. The representation of thirteen Orange lodges in the county of Fermanagh at once echoed this language, and very similar resolutions were passed by many other lodges in different parts of Ireland. A large proportion of the lodges, it is true, obeyed the direction of the Grand Lodge and kept silence on the subject, and some individual Orangemen were conspicuous supporters of the Union; but there is not, I believe, a single instance of an Orange resolution in its favour." (Lecky: "Ireland in the Eighteenth Century.")

engagements to which I have been obliged to pay attention, I have kept his memorial as a certificate of his publick merits."

A very curious and interesting personalty who is to be met with often in the Viceroy's post-bag—mainly in the unheroic capacity of a place-hunter—is the Rev. Thomas Brooke Clarke, D.D., an Irish Protestant clergyman living in London, and a political pamphleteer. He sent to Hardwicke the following letter in support of his claim to preferment in Ireland :

"24, ALSOP BUILDINGS, MARYLEBONE,
"*28th May*, 1802.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"It is some and the sole alleviation of very poignant feelings which I labour under at this moment, that they bring with them the means of giving to your Excellency perhaps some useful information, and afford me an opportunity of testifying my zeal and attachment to your interests.

"I had the honour of an interview with Mr. Wickham two days since, of which I shall relate the occasion hereafter, during which he mentioned that the late and the present Administration were on the best terms, and in habits of mutual good offices and strict friendship. On this point I could only keep silence with respect to Mr. Wickham. But it may not be unnecessary to apprise your Excellency of some circumstances within my own knowledge, whereby you may, on combining them with others, steer your opinion on the nature and consequences of the connection now subsisting between the late and present Government. I disclose these matters to you in confidence, which I shall not do to any other man, though I am not bound to secrecy but by my own discretion, and a sense of the importance of such matters remaining generally unknown.

"I had a long conference with Mr. Dundas the other day on various topics. Your Excellency knows his public sentiments, as uttered in the House, on the Peace. But entering into different circumstances with me, relative to the present Administration, he said they sometimes consulted Mr. Pitt and him, who freely gave them their opinions, but that no other connection subsisted between

them. And he added, that such were the sentiments of Mr. Pitt with respect to the present Government, that he never would ask a favour from them, and, if I do not mistake, he also said, never accept of one. The same sentiments likewise he uttered for himself. But, my Lord, something, perhaps, still stronger has come to my knowledge within these few days. Mr. Rose has in a conversation with a friend of mine—a man of great respectability and considerable talent—condemned different proceedings of the present Administration, some as injurious to the country and totally opposite to the intentions of Mr. Pitt, and others as dangerous in their immediate and ruinous in their remote consequences. For the truth of his having made these remarks I will venture to pledge myself.

"The conclusion which I draw from these, and from Mr. Dundas's public and private sentiments, as well as from a variety of other circumstances, is this—Mr. Pitt and his party are not *bonâ fide* friends to the Addington Administration, but they do not appear hostile to their measures; they support them rather than add strength to Opposition. Mr. Pitt and his friends, however, only rest on their oars until the gale and the tide answer, when Mr. Pitt will come into his former station in the Commons, and Mr. Dundas be probably placed at the helm in the House of Peers. Perhaps I draw wrong inferences from true premises. If so, your Excellency will make better use of them. But to your bosom alone, my Lord, I confide them as facts which are too true to be generally known.

"And now I shall pass to the personal circumstances which led to a knowledge of the former. Here, my Lord, I must entreat your pardon and your patience. I have much at stake, but I shall be brief, and shall not state a circumstance that is unnecessary.

"During my conference with Mr. Dundas I mentioned to him Lord Castlereagh's interview with me *while the Union was pending*, and his most earnestly advising me to give up the point which I urged of a specific engagement on a particular object, for the general one of *my name being put on the List of Irish Preferment*. I mentioned to him that having supposed Lord Castlereagh's advice to be founded on a liberal honesty in directing me to do what he had the power of knowing was best

for me under existing circumstances, and not having a doubt of his honour in the performance of it, I yielded to his counsel and told his lordship I would abide by his advice, and commit the whole matter and my success to his hands. I reminded Mr. Dundas also of his application to Lord Castlereagh in my favour some few days after this interview, and of Lord Castlereagh's confirmation of his engagement to me by telling Mr. Dundas what had passed, and of his being apprised of my object before Mr. Dundas's recommendation. Mr. Dundas answered these representations, when I had submitted them to him, by saying this was very true, and he thought I ought to call on Lord Castlereagh and get him to perform his engagement.

"I paused, however, to reflect on this, and feeling some repugnance with respect to Lord Castlereagh from his conduct, I consulted Mr. Beresford* as one in whose judgment and honour I could confide. He advised me to apply to Mr. Wickham and ask him to speak to Lord Castlereagh, and try if he would acknowledge the engagement, and desired me to refer Mr. Wickham for a confirmation of it to Mr. Dundas. It may be necessary here to restate that after my interview with Lord Castlereagh Mr. Dundas had one with him, and recommended me and my claims to him, and finding that everything was settled, and the business of my preferment fixed, he wrote a letter to me saying that he had recommended me to Lord Castlereagh, but that he had told him that he had seen me previously and was already apprised of my object. This letter I once showed to your Excellency, and I have it still.

"But a long time after all applications to ensure preferment had been set at rest by promise and expectation from Lord Castlereagh, I received a letter from him swerving from his engagement to Mr. Dundas and me. Struck by such conduct I went instantly with his lordship's letter to Mr. Dundas, who said, much surprised, 'I must confess, Dr. Clarke, this is extraordinary. Lord Castlereagh gave me every reason to think that your preferment was a matter fixed. When I spoke to him he informed me that he had been apprised of your object by yourself before I recommended you, and I certainly

* John Beresford, M.P., a politician who exercised enormous influence in Ireland.

understood both from his words and manner that it would be accomplished.' I shewed Lord Castlereagh's letter swerving from his engagement to your Excellency in New Cavendish-street, and I mentioned to you, at the same time, my having shewn it to Mr. Dundas and his remarks on it, as I have just now stated them. My object in so doing was at Mr. Dundas's desire in order to get your Excellency to join with him in an application to Mr. Pitt when he found that Lord Castlereagh had violated his engagement, or rather seemed inclined so to do. When I shewed these letters to you, and stated those remarks of Mr. Dundas on Lord Castlereagh's engagement to me, I never thought I should have occasion to call your Excellency's recollection toward them now.

" Mr. Beresford said that if Lord Castlereagh would acknowledge this engagement, and your Excellency think proper to admit it, it would exonerate Lord Castlereagh from carrying his engagement further into effect, of which he, no doubt, would be glad, and fully empower your Excellency to put me on the List, and act in whatever manner you might think fit after. I followed the counsel of Mr. Beresford, and waited on Mr. Wickham, whose kindness, politeness and good sense I am fully sensible of. He in a very handsome manner said, after hearing my statement, that as a Minister he could not admit a mere personal statement from any gentleman ; it must be confirmed by the late Administration ; and that as he found I was dissatisfied with Lord Castlereagh he could not open the business to him, it was a matter of so much delicacy. (I did not interrupt Mr. Wickham, and I omitted afterwards to acquaint him that Lord Castlereagh had not the most distant knowledge of my sentiments or dissatisfaction with respect to him.) ' But,' said Mr. Wickham, ' if Mr. Dundas will avow his promises to you, and Lord Castlereagh acknowledge his, then, indeed, the matter will come before me in a proper shape.' I felt the force of this immediately, thanked Mr. Wickham, and told him I left him perfectly content. To which he very good-humoredly and in a very friendly manner replied, ' Then, Dr. Clarke, I am truly sorry not to make you more content.'

" But, my Lord, I was perfectly content when he said, ' If Mr. Dundas would avow his promises, and Lord Castlereagh acknowledge his, the matter would come

forward in a proper shape.' Because, my Lord, I believe that to your Excellency Mr. Dundas's promises are abundantly known. Perhaps also in your kind interview with him on my account he has himself stated to you what has passed with Lord Castlereagh. If he has not, I have no doubt but he will, if called upon. And, my Lord, as my exertions on the question of the Union are known to you, as the promises are, I believe, not unknown to you, which really drew me from my professional engagements, and whereby I have sustained a loss of some hundreds of pounds per annum, which I resigned in order to devote myself wholly to the one object, perhaps your Excellency will on these grounds of public justice, backed by the earnest entreaties of private friendship, interfere with Lord Castlereagh. To your Excellency he will probably readily acknowledge his engagement, when he understands that you are about to exonerate him from the trouble of performing it, or the reproach of its violation. It is, however, the opinion of Mr. Dundas, 'that the knowledge of what has passed fully empowers your Excellency to have my name inserted on the List by your own desire, as a man whose claims on the ground of service both the Government of England and Ireland have acknowledged, and which are known likewise to yourself.' Pardon this statement; it is Mr. Dundas's words, not mine.

"But, my Lord, if I have rendered services to the country, it is to you the country is indebted. Perhaps the letter forwarded by your Excellency to Mr. Pitt containing reasons for the measure of an Union, six months before he brought it forward, was of more service than all the efforts of my mind afterward. However, my Lord, I feel that this is the crisis of my future fortune. All my exertions, my hopes and expectations, my loss of income and waste of time, all are now at stake, all must be lost, unless, my Lord, you stretch out an hand to save me. If I succeed it can be only and wholly by your generosity and kindness. Mr. Dundas's promises, I believe, you know, or have reasons not to doubt of. Lord Castlereagh's are not, perhaps, altogether unknown to you, and he probably will not be sorry to acknowledge his engagement when the bare acknowledgment will rub out the score. Then, my Lord, you will have the matter in proper shape before you, as Mr. Wickham said.

At present it is in one that gives birth to very pregnant sensations on my part.

"But, my Lord, while I am capable of feeling I shall enjoy pleasure in being permitted to sign myself always,

"Your Excellency's faithful, attached, and obliged humble servant,

"THOS. B. CLARKE."

On June 8, 1802, Clarke sent the following note to the Lord Lieutenant:

"Though I had the honor of writing to your Excellency only about a week since, yet the present object will, I trust, plead for my taking up my pen again so soon. I am going to collect my different pamphlets on the Union, in order to form a volume. I beg permission to dedicate that volume to you. If it has been useful to the country or honourable to me, to you we are both indebted. All the good of this volume belongs to your Excellency; all the bad to me alone."

The reply of the Lord Lieutenant to this communication was a brief, angry note telling Clarke to trouble him no more with political tittle-tattle. Its effect on Clarke is seen in the following letter:

"24, ALSOP BUILDINGS, MARYLEBONE,
"13 *August*, 1802.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"Since the time I had the honour of making your Excellency's acquaintance, I have passed so far down the vale of life as to be not very distant, perhaps, from the end of my journey. It has been, I may say with truth, one of great labour and sorrow. I have, however, in looking over my past accounts, minutely examined my heart and conduct towards your Excellency throughout that period. And, Heaven now witness my truth, that I have borne along with me but one impression of attachment toward your Excellency, pure, unaltered, uninterrupted. If, however, I have by any means erred of late, my judgment may have been in fault—this I am ready to avow—but my heart or my principles never. Indeed, where I am induced to surmise I have erred is, perhaps, a strong proof in itself of my zeal and feelings, accompanied by respect for your Excellency. I thought it honest, I

conceived it to be my duty, to conceal nothing from your Excellency whereof the knowledge could prove useful, by enabling you to correct, or to anticipate, or to prevent consequences. Toward others for whom I felt not an equal interest, I would not have been blind to the policy of silence. But, my Lord, the transaction of the University* and the conversation of Mr. Dundas were, in my opinion, of too much importance to be concealed one moment from you. If, however, I have erred in communicating them I cannot now do such violence to the settled habits of my life as not to give way to feelings which have grown up with me through youth and manhood for your Excellency, and say I am truly distressed to have communicated anything which may have given you one moment's uneasiness and displeasure. Your Excellency, I am sure, will do me the justice not to doubt that my sole aim and object were not to offend but to serve you—to give proof of my attachment, and not of the errors of my judgment.

"I hope, therefore, after this declaration on my part, and an appeal to your Excellency's head and heart, that if any dissatisfaction exist its impressions will be done away. But, my Lord, do not attribute this step to any mean policy. My regret is the effect of a proud attachment to yourself and your principles, not of a narrow or selfish one to your distinguished situation or your power. I have due feelings of respect for the character of Viceroy of Ireland, but infinitely more than this for the character of Lord Hardwicke. It is to your integrity and virtues I have been attached throughout life; and still remain, my dear Lord, with truth and fidelity,

"Your Excellency's respectful and sincere servant,

"THOS. B. CLARKE."

In reply to this letter the Viceroy, writing from the Phœnix Park on October 21, 1802, assured Clarke that

* The allusion to Dublin University refers to an earlier letter sent by Clarke to the Lord Lieutenant. In it he states that he had had a communication from Dublin declaring that the unsympathetic and, indeed, abrupt manner in which Lindsay, his Excellency's private secretary, had received Prime Serjeant Browne, who came to solicit the support of the Lord Lieutenant for a Bill to be promoted in Parliament for enabling the Fellows of the University to marry, had excited "a great ferment of indignation in Trinity College."

he had not received from the late Administration any engagement with regard to his preferment, and that he had reason to know that such was the sense both of Cornwallis and Castlereagh of the burden which had been placed on his patronage by the Union Engagements, that they would on no account consent to ask for the enlargement of the List by even one other name.

"I am well aware," he goes on, "as I doubt not Lord Cornwallis was, of the services rendered to the cause of the Union by your literary labours; and for that reason, as well as on account of the length of our acquaintance, I should have great pleasure in being able to promote your views of better preferment in Ireland. But when I recollect that to this hour the heavy mortgage left by my predecessor on the patronage of the country has precluded me from paying attention to any claim, however strong, and whether of a public or a private description, I am sure you will not be surprised at my declining to make any new engagements, or add to those which have already been productive of so much embarrassment."

The kindlier terms of this letter touched the heart of Clarke, and moved him to the warmest expressions of gratitude.

"I have at this moment been honoured with your letter," he writes on October 25, 1802, "which has lightened a load that has oppressed me long and beyond what I can or ought to attempt to describe. But let me forget it in the moment that I wish to thank your Excellency, and assure you, my Lord, that however I have suffered, my attachment and respectful esteem never abated one instant."

* * *

The following letter, written to the Lord Lieutenant by the Rear-Admiral Whitshed, in reference to his father, the Bishop of Raphoe, shows that it was not an entirely self-seeking age:

"RAPHOE CASTLE,
"*December 28th*, 1803.

"MY LORD,

"When I had last the honor of seeing your Excellency you were so much hurried that I deemed it

imprudent to speak on a subject which I had previously mentioned to Mr. Wickham, and in which I cannot help feeling the most lively interest. The feeble and lethargic state in which I find my poor father no way tends to lessen that feeling, and altho' for the present he has recovered from the attack he had, yet such a one at 80 cannot have been made with impunity, and must be look'd on as the forerunner of something more fatal.

"I am well aware, my Lord, that I have no claim in my individual person that could for an instant justify the request I am about to make. But I own I look with the utmost confidence to your Excellency's kindness, and I may almost say justice, fairly to consider the situation in which the bishop's two sons will be placed on the day of his dissolution, when the singular phenomenon will be exhibited of a man having been a bishop *thirty* years, and having one son upwards of twenty-four years and another upwards of sixteen years in the Church, and yet, together, not possessing above four hundred and fifty pounds per annum in it. 'Tis natural that this statement should excite some surprise, and the bishop must be known before it can be well understood. The early part of his life exhibited the same inattention to worldly concerns that the later periods of it have done; and conscientiously and meekly to discharge his duty and to walk humbly with his God, has been the sole object of his existence in this world. Such, my Lord, in a few words, is the character of this good man; and your Excellency will, I am sure, no longer be surprised to hear that every older and poorer person than his sons in his diocese succeeded to vacant livings, and were provided for before they obtained even what they now possess. The same dignified feeling prevented his ever asking for them what nothing would induce him to accept; and I know well that he has more than twice refused to hold, before he was a bishop, two livings, and that almost any man but himself, placed as he was, might have been Bishop of Clogher. Your Excellency will not wonder then when you are told that he used his influence in the country and supported the measure of the Union in Parliament with all his power, without a thought of himself and his family, and true to his principles he conscientiously discharged his duty.

"Having now, my Lord, stated the character of the

man, and laid the nature of his case before you, shall I be too sanguine if I indulge the hope that your Excellency will not suffer the sons of the good man who scorn'd to barter his duty for his interest, to be worse off than those who hesitated not to study their individual advantage before the benefit of the State ?

" I have taken the liberty thus to address your Lordship, preferring it to the roundabout mode of those recommendations which I might procure to your Excellency from England, some of which, however, will I dare say be presented, from the solicitude of my friends there. But it would, indeed, be to me most flattering and gratifying to think that to your Excellency's kindness alone I owed the advancement of my brothers.

" I am now to apologise for the liberty I have taken, and which, under all the circumstances of the case, I trust your Excellency will forgive. I have the honor to subscribe myself, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

" J. WHITSHED."

The Viceroy, as usual, was extremely careful in the phrasing of his reply. The draft of his letter is full of alterations. Dated January 10, 1804, it runs :

" I trust you will do me the justice to believe that I enter entirely into the feelings which you must have on the subject of your brothers, in consequence of the situation in which they are likely to be left from a pardonable, tho' certainly an unfortunate delicacy on the part of the Bishop of Raphoe. The circumstances you have stated, and the interest which you very naturally take in your brothers' welfare, render me very desirous of holding out some expectation that I may be able, sooner or later, in some degree to gratify your wishes. But as I should be equally unwilling to promise more than I am likely to be able to perform, I think it right to explain to you the very unpleasant situation in which I have been placed in regard to patronage, ecclesiastical as well as civil, by the engagements which my predecessor was under the necessity of contracting, and which devolved upon me under the sanction of the late and present Administrations. From this circumstance I have not had the opportunity of disposing of a single Living that

has fallen to the patronage of the Crown exceeding an hundred pounds per annum, and I have still two or three engagements for Church patronage unsatisfied. In the meantime some engagements have had necessarily to be made, to the liquidation of which I must consider myself pledged, whenever this heavy mortgage of the Union is paid off, and which, of course, it would be difficult to supersede.

"I have troubled you with this long explanation, because I should really be happy to be able to say that I was at liberty to comply with your request at an early opportunity. Subject to those engagements by which I am bound, and without binding myself for anything specific, which is beyond my power, I shall have great pleasure in recording your wishes, and I hope not ineffectually, for I assure you it would afford me great satisfaction to be instrumental in promoting the views you have in favour of your brothers."

* * *

There was nothing left even for members of the Irish peerage, upon whom misfortune and distress had fallen through no fault of their own. Here is a petition from Richard Meade, Earl of Clanwilliam, co. Tipperary, whose father died in 1800 :

"His Majesty was pleased to grant to my father, the late Earl of Clanwilliam, dignities of Peerage. I have succeeded to those dignities, but find on looking into the state of my affairs that the entire of the property which should have been my paternal inheritance is involved, and liable to more debts and charges than it is worth, and not of my creating. I have been told that in similar situations the Crown has in many instances extended its liberality for the support of the Peerage. May I take the liberty of requesting your Excellency laying this my case before his Majesty ?

"*September 13th*, 1801."

It was a sad case, but no assistance could be rendered. Lord Clanwilliam was informed that the promises of pensions for services on behalf of the Union must have the prior claim on the Government, and that it would probably take years to redeem them.

CHAPTER II

THE LIST OF UNION ENGAGEMENTS

WHAT was this list of Union Engagements which so worried Lord Hardwicke by mortgaging the patronage of his office? What was this sinister document which cast the shadow of perplexity and embarrassment over the entire five years of his Viceroyalty? It is notorious that the Irish Parliament, which in the session of 1799 refused to decree its extinction, was induced by the distribution of honours, places, and pensions among its members, and persons of political influence outside, to carry the Bill of Union in the session of 1800. Cornwallis, the Lord Lieutenant, and Castlereagh, the Chief Secretary, were authorized by the Cabinet of William Pitt, with the consent of the King, to bestow any rewards and give any engagements they thought necessary in order to win support for the Union. "A shameless traffic in votes began," writes the unprejudiced and impartial Lecky, "and many men of great name and position in the world were bought as literally as cattle in the cattle-market."

Even before the Union was carried the Lord Lieutenant —as we learn from "The Cornwallis Correspondence"— sent over to the Cabinet a list of sixteen names, all of them, with a few exceptions, members of the House of Commons, who had been promised Irish peerages for their political services, with a request for the immediate issue of their patents of nobility. King George III. grumbled at the Bill. The Cabinet were reluctant to blazon forth to the world in this fashion the shameful means by which

they were endeavouring to effect the Union of Ireland with Great Britain. But Cornwallis wrote peremptorily that his engagements must be carried out, or else he should resign. "If the King withholds his consent," says he, "he will be pleased to allow me to retire from a station which I could no longer hold with honour to myself, or with any prospect of advantage to his service." So the account was settled. After the Union had been carried, other accounts, still more exorbitant in their character, were presented by the Irish Administration to the Cabinet. One was for the creation of twenty-eight Irish peerages; the raising of twenty Irish peers to higher ranks; and the conferring on six Irish peers of peerages of the United Kingdom.* Another was for the payment of a sum of £1,260,000 as compensation to the owners of eighty pocket boroughs—returning 160 members to the Irish Parliament—which were abolished under the Act of Union, at the rate of £15,000 a borough. Both these accounts were settled during the brief period that remained of the Viceroyalty of Lord Cornwallis. Again, the twenty-eight Irish peers who under the Act of Union were elected for life to represent the Irish peerage in the House of Lords of the Imperial Parliament were virtually nominated by the Lord Lieutenant, and consisted exclusively of supporters of the Union.

* * *

That much of the story of how the Union was carried has long been known. But there was another portentous bill of promises of places, pensions, legal appointments, bishoprics, and promotions in the Irish peerage, for which Cornwallis and Castlereagh had made themselves liable,

* On the principal stairs of Powerscourt House, co. Wicklow, hangs a portrait of Richard Wingfield, fourth Viscount Powerscourt. The picture is inscribed: "You are not going to bribe me." The story of the inscription is that during the negotiations for the Union Cornwallis sent a message to Lord Powerscourt to say that if he voted for the impending measure he would recommend him to the King for a marquisate. In great indignation, Powerscourt ejected the messenger from the house, saying, "You are not going to bribe me." Powerscourt was one of the small minority of Irish peers who opposed the Union.

remaining undischarged at the fall of the Pitt Administration in the spring of 1801. These engagements are referred to in "The Cornwallis Correspondence," but their nature has hitherto been a profound secret. Lecky, who was permitted to examine the secret papers of the period in the archives of Dublin Castle for his "History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," says the list and the negotiations with respect to it were destroyed. What happened was that the careful and methodical Hardwicke carried off the correspondence on quitting office in 1806. Now, after the lapse of a century, this disgraceful record leaps to light. In the year 1804 Hardwicke made a copy of this list of Union Engagements, distinguishing the promises which at that time had been fulfilled, and commenting on each case, for the information of Lord Hawkesbury, the Home Secretary of Pitt's second Administration. Accompanying the document was the following letter:

Private and confidential.

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*September* 26, 1804.

"MY DEAR LORD,—

"Not being certain whether your lordship may be in possession of a copy of the Union Engagements which were delivered to me by Lord Cornwallis, and which I have been endeavouring to discharge as faithfully and as expeditiously as possible, I enclose a copy of each of the papers with some additional and confidential notes of explanation.

"Your Lordship will easily believe on a perusal of the enclosed papers that the task which I undertook to perform has not been free from difficulty and embarrassment. In the application of offices and other objects of patronage which have gradually become vacant I have naturally been induced to select from the list those who appeared most proper for the situations in which openings occurred. The consequence has been that nearly all those who were qualified for any offices of trust or situations of business have been already selected from the list, and there is little chance of the other engagements being satisfied, except by sinecure offices which are not very easily found.

"The greater part of those upon the different lists who had not actual engagements for specific offices received the amount of their engagements from a fund, in which I have had no concern, and of which I was entirely ignorant at the time I received the papers. The fund for these money payments has, I understand, been partly supplied from his Majesty's privy purse, but the demand on the fund has been gradually diminishing, as offices have been provided for those who had engagements; and the payments are now limited to the few who still remain unprovided for, for some of whom, with every disposition to do so, it will be extremely difficult to find situations which they will be competent or willing to hold."

* * *

The following is a complete copy of this document. I have enclosed in brackets the remarks of Lord Hardwicke, which, in the original, are written in red ink:

CHURCH ENGAGEMENTS.

The Archbishop of Cashel—To succeed to Dublin.
(Translated accordingly, vice Fowler, deceased.)
Rev. Mr. Alexander—The Bench.
(Done. Appointed Bishop of Clonfert by the removal of Bishop Beresford to Kilmore, Kilmore to Cashel, and Cashel to Dublin.)
Bishop of Killaloe—Strong assurances given to Lord Abercorn of his being translated, which Lord Cornwallis intended to do after he had found an opportunity of removing the Bishop of Kilmore to a better See.
(Translated to Londonderry, vice the Earl of Bristol, deceased.)
Rev. Mr. Trench—The Bench of Bishops.
(Promoted to Waterford, vice Marley, deceased.)
Dean Warburton—Promised to recommend him strongly to Lord Hardwicke on account of his general good character, and of his services during the Rebellion and the Union contest. Lord Cornwallis intended to have promoted him to the Bench after the Union Engagements had been fulfilled.
(The King has declared he will never make him a Bishop. He was a Roman Catholick originally; his name, Mongan, and his father an Irish harper. He him-

self was a missionary, and acquired, by plausible manners, to the amount of £2,000 a year and upwards of Church preferment.)*

Rev. Mr. Cleland—Tutor to Lord Castlereagh. Promised the Rectorship of Armagh.

(Promoted to the Precentorship of Armagh, vice Alexander.)

Rev. Richard Straubenzie Wolfe, Lord Kilwarden's nephew—Better preferment.

(He was promoted to the Prebend of Ticolme and Rectory of Templepeter, in the Diocese of Leighlin and Ferns; also to the vicarage of Dunlackney and Agha, in the said diocese, vice Alexander, promoted The abovementioned Prebend, etc., vacated by the unfortunate assassination of Mr. Wolfe,† have been given to a son of Dr. Kearney, the Provost, to whom I was desirous of an opportunity of showing a personal attention, the College being at present inclined to support his Majesty's Government, and at all times an important body.)

Rev. Mr. Bisset—Promised a living of £500 or £600 a year, and to resign his present preferment of £300 a year. Through him managed Cope, M.P. for Armagh.

(Not done, because the Primate refused to present a person recommended by Government to his Living.)

Rev. John Hill, brother to Sir G. Hill—Promised preferment and to be recommended to Lord Hardwicke for early promotion.

(Promoted to the Prebend of Clonmethan, vice Lord Strangford, deceased.)

Rev. Mr. Paul, Lord O'Neill's tutor—His Lordship has

* Warburton, in a letter to the Lord Lieutenant, written at Loughgilly Parsonage, Newry, states that his yearly income is £2,250. It is thus made up: three sinecures—Precentorship of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, £400, Prebend of Killaloe, £100, Deanery of Clonmacnoise, £100; two parishes—Mohill, £700, Loughgilly, £950. He desires to exchange the parish of Mohill, in the Diocese of Ardagh, for Dr. Alexander's parish of Killeny, which lies close to Loughgilly. "My hope is," he says, "that the Government may be equally accommodated by this exchange; yet I should feel it a serious obligation, inasmuch as it would afford me the highest satisfaction which a conscientious clergyman can possibly enjoy, that of having all his clerical duty within reach of his daily inspection and personal attendance." His wish, however, was not complied with.

† Mr. Wolfe was murdered, with his uncle, Lord Chief Justice Kilwarden, during the Emmet insurrection of 1803.

had a positive promise that Mr. Paul should be promoted.

(This was done accordingly by the Rectory and Vicarage of Knockbride, vice Thomas Smyth, deceased.)

Rev. John Molesworth Staples—Promised Lord Clifden to give him a Living.

(The Rectory, etc., of Killeven, vice Lord Strangford, deceased.)

Rev. Joseph Palmer—Promised Mr. David LaTouche to give him a Living.

(Done by giving him a Living in Co. Kildare.)

Rev. John Rowley—Promised his father, Mr. Clotworthy Rowley, that he should be promoted.

(Not yet done.)

Rev. Mr. Clemlow—Lord Cornwallis promised his uncle, Mr. Mathew, that he would recommend him strongly for preferment.

(This private wish was connected with a publick transaction. His uncle was an old acquaintance of Lord Cornwallis, but being one of Lord Downshire's members, he was obliged to take away his place. As some return, and to show that there was nothing personal in it, he put down his nephew in the manner above stated. Mr. Clemlow was accordingly promoted to the Rectory of Westena, alias Vastina, in the Diocese of Meath, vice Homan, deceased.)*

* Further light is thrown on this transaction by a letter from Cornwallis to Hardwicke, dated "Culford, July 15th, 1802." It shows that another nephew of Mathew had been deprived by Cornwallis of some position because of his opposition to the Union. The letter runs:

"My dear Lord,—Your goodness to me on all occasions has been most strongly manifested, and in no instance more than in your attention to my recommendation of Mr. Clemlow, which could not be fairly classed in the list of public engagements. The unfortunate circumstance of my having been under the necessity of using hard measures with regard to one of the nephews of my old and very respectable brother soldier, Mr. Mathew, made me very desirous of being the means of obtaining a post for another nephew, in whose welfare he was most interested, in addition to which Mr. Mathew's gallant and eminent services at the period of the breaking out of the Rebellion in the North give him some claim to public consideration. The Living in the diocese of Meath, which Your Excellency is so kind as to offer, will, I have no doubt, be gratefully accepted by Mr. Clemlow, but at all events I shall feel that I have done everything that could reasonably have been expected of me."

The Rev. Dean Graves—Was promised preferment both by Lord Cornwallis and Lord Camden.

(Promoted to the Deanery of Connor, vice Dobbs, deceased.)

Rev. Gilbert Holmes—A letter from Lord Cornwallis, 5th August, 1801, stated that Mr. Holmes had been forgot.

(Promoted to the Deanery of Ardfert, vice Graves, promoted.)

Exclusive of the above list of Positive Engagements in the Church, there are some applications which Lord Cornwallis would have been glad to have complied with, if proper opportunities had offered, and which are entered in a separate book of applications under similar circumstances.

Rev. Mr. Usher—A friend of Lord Belvedere.

(A supplementary engagement given in by Mr. Cook, and satisfied by the Vicarage of Asnamurthis, in the Diocese of Meath, vice Homan, deceased.)

N.B.—Besides those, I have presented the Rev. Ponsonby Gouldsbury to the Rectory of Raddinstown, vacated by Dr. French, at the particular request of Mr. Smyth, member for the Co. Westmeath, as well as his colleague, Mr. Rochfort. Rev. Mr. Lee, brother to the member for the County of Waterford, to the Deanery of Kilmacduagh. Also Rev. Mr. Hunt, nephew of Mr. Hunt, an old Surveyor-General and very inefficient, thereby saving the expense of placing him on Income Incidents.

Civil Engagements.

Those marked (*) were members of the House of Commons, and gave their support to the Union.

*Mr. M'Naughton, representative for Antrim—Reversion of the Searchership of Cork, vice Yelverton, £5,000 a year.

(Not done, from a difficulty in form.)

*Mr. Walsh, Collector of Naas—To resign to his son.

(Done.)

*Colonel Burton, M.P., Co. Clare—To name the successor to the Collection at Ennis.

(Done.)

*Mr. Faithful Fortescue—To get compensation for the loss of his pension of £300 a year.

(To be put on the Pension List this year.)*

*Colonel Skeffington, Lieutenant-Governor of Cork—Promised £300 a year in addition.

(Not done. I could appoint this gentleman to some office of £600 per annum if I could appoint to the Lieutenant-Government of Cork.)

*Mr. Hatton, brother-in-law of Lord Hertford—To be removed to a more lucrative office. He lately declined the Board of Accounts, £800 a year. He had accepted the Fellowship of the Exchequer, being a sinecure of the same value with the Accounts, but could not find the necessary security.

(Now Commissioner of Stamps, £500 a year.)

*Mr. Rutledge—Brought into Parliament by his sister-in-law, Mrs. Bruen, widow of Colonel Bruen, who made a great fortune in the American War, and purchased an Irish Borough on speculation.

(He had a money payment. This was liquidated by his being appointed to a seat at the Navigation Board, £500 per annum.)

*Colonel Nesbit—Promised £500 a year.

(Not done.)

*Mr. Cotter, Lord Shannon's friend—To be employed in Tontines, or in an office of £400 a year.

(Done by Tontine Office.)

*Colonel Macdonnell—Promised £500 a year.

(Done by a seat at the Board of Accounts, which he was allowed to transfer. N.B.—This engagement was liquidated by £800 per annum on account of his having been appointed a supernumerary aide-de-camp, in expectation of some employment of business.)

*Colonel MacNamara—Promised £400 per annum.

(Not done.)

* In the Lord Lieutenant's audience-book, in which Hardwicke entered the names of persons who called to see him at the Castle, the object of their visits, and his replies, there is a note which throws more light on this engagement: "June 2, 1801. Mr. Faithful Fortescue, Lord Clement's nephew. States that an engagement for a pension, instead of one which he gave up on coming into Parliament for the life of himself and Mr. G. Adair, was entered into for regranting said pension to himself and wife. Told him that his name was not on the list given in by Lord Castlereagh in London, but Lord Cornwallis had stated it in conversation on the 26th of May, as Mr. Fortescue does himself. That a mem. was made of it, but it cannot be put on the Pension List till after those which were on that originally given in."

*Major Creighton, Lord Erne's son—Promised the Barrack Board, or an equivalent £800 per annum.

(Done by the appointment to the Government of Heist Castle.)

*Colonel Wemyss—£400 per annum.

(Done by Collectorship of Kilkenny.)

*Sir Vere Hunt—£500 per annum.

(Done by Weighmastership of Cork.)

*Mr. Straton, Lord Roden's brother-in-law—£400 per annum.

(Done, first by Navigation Board, and afterwards by Collectorship of Dundalk. He was first a Commissioner of Navigation. Lord Roden claimed to appoint to the Collectorship of Dundalk, as being always considered in his patronage; but I could not comply with this claim on account of the engagement, and Mr. Straton vacated the Navigation Board.)

*Mr. Leslie—£300 a year, recommended by Mr. Brooke, member for Donegal.

(Done by the place of Judge Advocate.)

*Capt. Cane—£400 per annum.

(Not done.)

*Mr. George Knox—Dismissed from the Revenue Board. Promised restitution, £1,000 per annum.

(Not done, because a seat at the Revenue Board is incompatible with his seat in Parliament. Query—How can this debt be paid now?)

*Mr. Baker—An employment of £250 a year. Recommended by Lord Callan. Lord Callan had two members.

(Not done.)

*Mr. C. Tottenham—His son to be promoted from Wicklow Collection, the reversion of which is promised to Mr. Leigh, of New Ross.

(Not done.)

Mr. Alexander Hamilton—To have the interest of Government in the next General Election for the County of Dublin.

* There is a letter from Hardwicke to Marsden the Under-Secretary, dated July 8, 1802, and marked "Secret" in reference to this engagement. "My dear Sir," it says, "I am decidedly of opinion that we should not be justified in undertaking to support Mr. Alexander Hamilton with money. We have fairly given him the full benefit of all the support which Government could give to any candidate for the County of Dublin, and to make it the more complete have abstained from intimating a wish in favour of any

(Done, but without success. N.B.—Mr. Hans Hamilton and Mr. Faulkner, then members, were in opposition to the Government.)

*Capt. Ormsby—First vacancy at the Paving Board, £300 per annum.

(Not done.)

*Mr. M. Burke—Collection of Loughrea, in case Mr. Trench retires (Lord Dunlo's brother), or an equivalent.

(Paid.)

*Col. Jackson (Co. Mayo)—A Surveyorship on the quay in Dublin, for his brother-in-law, Mr. Ormsby, £350 per annum.

(Done, being Commissioner of Stamps.)

Bishop of Meath—A Revenue situation for his brother, from £200 to £300 per annum.

(Mr. O'Beirne is appointed Landwaiter on the quay at Dublin.)

*Sir George Shee—To be Paymaster of the Forces and of the Privy Council. If the appointment should not take place, to succeed Sir Henry Cavendish as Receiver-General.

(Now Secretary to the Treasury. Done by grant of reversion of Sir Henry Cavendish's office, subject, however, to any alteration for the benefit of the Revenue which may be thought necessary. N.B.—No further Receiver-General of the Revenue should be permitted to keep large balances in his hands, or to exact from the different Collectors one per cent. for their bills. This is the arrangement alluded to, and must be enforced.)

*Lord de Blaquiere—To be returned to Parliament on the General Election. If not, his son to have the Board of Works, £400 per annum.

(Query—Done by Mr. Addington.)

Lord Dunlo—To name to the Collection or Military government of Galway, whichever becomes first vacant. He had two sons in Parliament.

Lord Wallscourt—A Revenue situation for his brother, £400 per annum.

(Not done.)

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other candidate, though all profess to be friendly to Government. . . . I shall be glad to know what you think upon the subject, though if you have nothing to state *per contra* it may be as well to hold this language to Mr. Hamilton when he calls upon you between three and four."

Mr. George Browne—Promised a permanent employment of equal value (£400) per annum. Recommended by Mr. Denis Browne, Member for Mayo. Now Commissioner for Suffering Loyalists.

(Not done.)

*Mr. Archdale—Had a promise of an employment of £500 a year, which he waived upon being brought into Parliament. His claim is to revive when Parliament expires.

(In Parliament.)

Mr. Mason's nephew—For an employment of £100 per annum.

(Done by Barrackmastership of Millstreet.)

A great difficulty still exists in paying off several of those engagements, viz.:

Colonel Nesbit	£500	0	0
Colonel Macnamara	£400	0	0
Captain Cane	£400	0	0
Mr. Geo. Browne	£400	0	0
Hon. Geo. Knox	£1,000	0	0

The three first will accept no collectorship, or Revenue situations in the country, which requires attendance, and are very unwilling to take any of that description, even in Dublin; and it is impossible to find snug sinecures for them which admit of their residing where they please, and require no attendance at all.

Honours.

Viscount Gosford—To be an Earl.

(At the instance of Mr. Acheson, his son, Lord Gosford declined this honour at the late promotions, as he wished to avoid the imputation that he had made any difference on this account at the Union. He is now very desirous of the dignity.)

Viscount Limerick—To be an Earl.

(Created Earl of Limerick.)

Viscount Dunlo—To be an Earl.

(Created Earl of Clancarty.)

Baroness Dufferin—Solicited to be created, originally a Viscountess, which was declined, as it was not intended to recommend any person for two steps in the first instance. No promise was given as to future promotion, and this fact is only here stated in case her Ladyship

should hereafter desire that her claim may be considered previous to Lady Newcomen's promotion, who is now below her in rank.

(No claim or application has been made by Lady Dufferin.)

Baroness Newcomen—To be a Viscountess.

(Created Viscountess.)

LAW ENGAGEMENTS.

*Prime Serjeant Daly—Bench.

(Vice Baron Sir Michael Smith, now Master of the Rolls.)

*Mr. R. Johnson—Bench.

(Vice Mr. Justice Kelly, who retired.)

*Mr. Serjeant Stanley—Prime Serjeant.

(Vice Daly. Afterwards Commissioner of Accounts.)

*Mr. C. Osborne—First Counsel to the Commissioners.

(Vice Johnson.)

*Mr. C. Ormsby—Second Counsel to the Commissioners.

(Vice Osborne, now first Counsel.)

*Mr. M'Clelland—Received assurances of Legal provision. He supported the Union with ability.

(Solicitor-General, on Baron Smith's promotion.)

*Mr. W. Johnson—Similar assurances. He wrote and spoke ably in support of the Union.

(Great difficulty attends the fulfilment of this gentleman's engagement. He looks to the Bench, but his brother being already an Union Judge, and not highly respected, it is scarcely possible to place him there also, with any regard to what is due to the Profession.)

*Dr. Browne—Received assurances to the same effect. He was agent to the late Primate ; on his death Government undertook to interfere with his successor to continue him, but without success.

(Prime Serjeant, on removal of Prime Serjeant Stanley to the Board of Accounts.)

*Mr. Grady—£1,000 per annum.

(This was effected by his appointment to be Second Counsel to the Commissioners of the Revenue, a place which upon explanation is admitted to be worth double the engagement.)

*Mr. Sharkey—£400 per annum.

(Assistant Barrister for the County Roscommon.)

*Mr. Francis Knox—First vacant situation of Chairman of Quarter Sessions.

(Chairmanship of County Leitrim. But £400 per annum still due to him, which he receives privately, having given up the place of Assistant Barrister of the County Tyrone by Lord Castlereagh's desire in consequence of a wish to oblige Lord Abercorn with this appointment. That Chairmanship is worth £800 per annum.)

Mr. Bellew—Promised a similar situation.

(See Pension List. This gentleman is a son of Sir Patrick Bellew, of the County Louth, a Roman Catholick, and it was therefore thought very desirable to commute this engagement, as he looked to the fulfilment of it in the County of Louth, where the appointment would have been very obnoxious to all the Protestant gentlemen.)

Mr. Donellan, brother to Lady Fingall—Promised £300 a year; recommended by Lord Fingall.

(As a Roman Catholic, I preferred giving him the Office of Customer of Waterford to making him an Assistant Barrister.)

Mr. Lynch—The office of Chairman of the County of Galway, when vacant.

Pensions.

Lord de Blaquiere—£1,000 per annum for the lives of his wife and daughter; £700 to be put on the Pension List from March, 1802, and £300 from March, 1803.

(Done in the year 1802 by an arrangement with Mr. Fortescue.)

*Sir Boyle Roche—£400 a year for his own life.

Mr. M'Kenna—£300 a year for his literary services.

Mrs. Bromhead—£200 a year.

(Daughter of Sir Thomas French. An old engagement of Lord Hobart's.)

Mrs. Armit—£300 a year.

Mr. Edward Winder—£100 a year.

Lord Bishop of Clonfert's Widow—£500 a year for herself and eleven children.

Lord Belvidere—£200 a year.

(Done.)

*Mr. Faithful Fortescue—£300 for himself and wife in lieu of the Pension he lost by coming into Parliament.

Mr. Bellew—£150 a year.

(N.B.—The amount of this heavy mortgage on the Pension List of Ireland is £3,450 from March 25th, 1802; for the year's grant from Lady Day, 1801, was completed before my arrival in the May following. The grants have therefore stood thus:

From Lady Day,	1802 to 1803,	£1,200
„ „	1803 to 1804,	£1,200
„ „	1804 to 1805,	£1,200
		£3,600

Leaving at the disposal of His Majesty's Government in Ireland for the year ending March 25th, 1805, the sum of £150!!!

And beyond that sum no pension can be placed on the Irish Establishment till after March 25th, 1805, for the ensuing year. Of this, it is understood that a pension of £600 which His Majesty has been pleased to grant to Lady Clare, and of £300 per annum to the Widow of the late Judge Chamberlayne, are to be placed on the Irish Establishment as soon as the above mortgage is paid off. So that for the two years ending March 25th, 1806, the sum of £150 may be granted in the first year, and of £300 in the second.

This state of things is highly inconvenient and prejudicial to the King's Government in Ireland, and the disadvantage of it was certainly not foreseen, and has probably never been sufficiently considered. How it is to be remedied I know not, but the fact is that the inconvenience of the entire want of patronage of any description, occasioned by the engagements of which many remain still unsatisfied, has produced a variety of inconveniences, and some dissatisfaction.)

* * *

This, then, is the incubus which the Union placed upon the unwilling shoulders of the Earl of Hardwicke. The story of the embarrassments and perplexities with which it strewed the pathway of the luckless Viceroy—a story of dramatic interest—I shall tell in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER III

CONTEST FOR AN IRISH REPRESENTATIVE PEERAGE

HARDWICKE was only a few weeks in office when a dispute between him and the Cabinet as to the exercise of the Viceroy's patronage with respect to the bestowal of honours led almost to his resignation. The incident shows that the King, as well as Cornwallis and Castlereagh, entered into engagements on his own account to further the Union. In July, 1801, Lord Rossmore, who was elected one of the first group of representative peers of Ireland, in return for his services to the Union, fell ill. Lord Charleville—Charles William Bury, of Shannon Grove, co. Limerick—waited on the Lord Lieutenant, and urged his claim to succeed to the first vacancy in the representative peerage. He had not only supported the Union, for which he was promoted in the Irish peerage from Baron Tullamore to Viscount Charleville, but he had given to the Government the nomination to a seat in the United Parliament for the pocket borough of Carlow, by which Mr. Ormsby—described as "a useful Parliament friend" to the Administration—was returned. Hardwicke gave him a promise that he should have the nomination of the Government when the expected vacancy in the representative Irish peerage occurred.

Accordingly, on the death of Rossmore, early in August, Hardwicke wrote to the Prime Minister informing him of his promise to Charleville. "You may be assured," replied Addington, in a note from Wimbledon, dated "August ye 10th, 1801," "of every assistance from hence

in giving effect to your opinion and wishes in favour of Lord Charleville." But this agreeable aspect of things was transformed by a letter written by the Duke of Portland to Lord Hardwicke on August 12, which is endorsed by the Lord Lieutenant as having been received on August 16. Portland was Home Secretary under Pitt, during the Rebellion of 1798 and the carrying of the Union, and had just resigned office. His communication to Hardwicke conveyed the unpleasant intelligence that the King was pledged to give the first vacancy in the representative Irish peerage to the Marquis of Thomond. Before the Union Morough O'Brien was Earl of Inchiquin; after the Union he was created Marquis of Thomond. Of the King's engagement to him Portland writes:

"When the late Lord Lieutenant transmitted the list of those peers whom he thought the fittest to represent that illustrious body, his Majesty expressed great disappointment and concern at not finding Lord Thomond's name amongst them. He has repeatedly expressed this sentiment to Lord and Lady Thomond, and assured them both that it had not been, and should not be, his fault if Lord Thomond did not supply the first vacancy. As far as his Majesty can commit himself, he is pledged upon this occasion, and I therefore trust your Excellency will find no difficulty in fulfilling the engagement his Majesty has made. Although I am sensible that I have no longer any right to trouble your Excellency officially upon such a subject as this, I know too well how much his Majesty is, and, indeed, ought to be, interested in it not to feel that I should be wanting in my duty to him, and in respect to your Excellency, if I omitted to represent those circumstances to you."

On August 13 Addington wrote to Hardwicke that he was "extremely uneasy," on learning, for the first time, of the King's promise to the Marquis of Thomond. "Such an assurance must be strictly observed," he says, "though unknown to, and not remembered by, Mr. Pitt, and certainly never communicated to myself. I mean to write to his Majesty to-morrow to express at once your submission to his Majesty's pleasure, and my hope that

upon the next vacancy no obstacle will arise to the full support of Government in favour of Lord Charleville." But Hardwicke was a man of grit and determination, as we shall often see in the course of these researches in his post-bag, and he was not going to yield, even to the King. Immediately on receiving Portland's communication on August 16, he sat down and wrote letters to the Prime Minister and to Pelham (who had succeeded Portland as Home Secretary)—which letters he despatched, not through the post, but by special messenger—declaring that he must insist upon the nomination of Lord Charleville. He was too far committed in his engagement to that nobleman. He had mentioned the matter to Lord Clare. "A most proper man for the position," said the Lord Chancellor. If the nomination were now set aside it would be said that no reliance could be placed on his engagements. Then he goes on:

"I have, therefore, only to request that you will lay these circumstances before his Majesty, whose wish upon such an occasion would have been a command, which I should most cheerfully have obeyed, had any, the slightest, intimation of it been communicated to me at the time of my appointment. I undertook the Government with a very heavy mortgage upon the patronage of the Crown, but, until the arrival of the Duke of Portland's letter this morning, was actually ignorant of any engagements whatever in regard to a recommendation on the part of the Government to the first vacancy in the representation of the Irish peerage. You seem to have been equally uninformed of any such expectation having been held out to Lord Thomond from the high Quarter to which I have alluded; and I therefore rely upon your kindness and friendship to represent the circumstances which have passed in their true light to his Majesty. I trust his Majesty is too well acquainted with my devotion to his service not to be convinced that I have acted for the best. If the King entertains a wish in favour of Lord Thomond, he ought to have a positive promise of being supported on the next vacancy."

Writing again to Addington a few days later in a "private and confidential" communication, the Lord

Lieutenant urged the Prime Minister to ascertain distinctly whether it was really the wish of the King that Thomond should have a positive promise of being recommended for the next vacancy in the representative peerage. He says:

"I have, of course, refrained from communicating the embarrassment which has arisen to anyone besides Mr. Abbot and my private secretary; but in a place where an universal desire prevails of being acquainted with the business and concerns of others, the despatching of a messenger on an unusual day, and at an unusual hour, has given rise to much speculation on the subject both at the Post Office and the different offices about the Castle.

"The conversation that I have understood to have arisen upon the subject has given me an opportunity of inquiring whether any promises or expectations were held out by the late Government, and I am informed upon the best authority that amongst the applications to be included in the original list which were conveyed to Lord Cornwallis, there was one from the Marquis of Thomond and one from Lord Sheffield, one or both of which were transmitted through the Duke of Portland. That the answer returned by Lord Cornwallis was that it did not appear proper in the selection of the representative peers to recommend any who, notwithstanding they might have Irish property, were yet resident in England; that upon this ground he had objected to Lords Thomond and Sheffield; and, further, that his Majesty had coincided in this opinion, and had expressed his approbation of it. I cannot help saying that the idea is a just one, and if adhered to will save many difficulties hereafter.

"If, however, his Majesty should wish Lord Thomond to be recommended upon the next vacancy, no objection will, of course, be made on my part, and nothing but the Duke of Portland's forgetfulness could have created any embarrassment at present. The facts, however, being as they are, I trust you will upon consideration feel the impossibility of undoing that which has been done under your own authority, at least through the same instrument, without reducing the Government to a state of perfect nullity and inefficiency, and a total incapacity of having any weight or rendering any service."

* * *

On August 20 the Lord Lieutenant, writing from Phœnix Park to his brother, Charles Yorke, Minister for War, addressing him "My dear Charles," in a "private and confidential" communication, pours out his woes with respect to the impediments placed in the way of the exercise of his patronage. There were also troubles with the Duke of York as regards army patronage, and about these Hardwicke writes:

"I also send you a copy of the Duke of York's letter and a copy of his answer to the list of recommendations I sent for ensigncies and cornetcies. I rather fear his R.H. will make many difficulties, for surely it is very hard upon Irish gentlemen who recommend their sons for commissions that they shall be excluded from every regiment that happens to be in Ireland. Was ever such an answer returned to an English or a Scotch gentleman applying for a commission as that their request would be attended to, but not in Great Britain? On what principle, then, except to show that a Lord Lieutenant shall have less to say to commissions in Ireland than any other gentleman, can the Duke of York have thought it right to return such an answer, through Col. Brownrigg, of such a description?

"I sincerely hope that the Duke of York may see the propriety of leaving to the Lord Lieutenant the power of recommending to ensigncies and cornetcies, in the Army in Ireland. It is indeed a necessary point, without which the weight of the King's Government here will be too much reduced, and the Lord Lieutenant ought to be able to recommend with greater certainty than a private nobleman in England. All that the Duke of York says about the Army here I have heard before; but in point of fact every Lord Lieutenant till now has had the power of recommending not only to ensigncies and cornetcies, but to all commissions. It is but right that that power, so far as relates to first commissions, should be reserved, so far as relates to regiments in Ireland; but when once a man is in the Army the Commander-in-Chief is the proper judge of his future promotion, and the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant for higher commissions must be guided by the same rules which guide the decision in the case of other recommendations, viz., the merit of the parties."

Hardwicke then returns to the quarrel over the rival claims of Charleville and Thomond for the vacant representative Irish peerage, and tells his brother clearly that unless the position was given to Charleville he should resign. He says:

"As to the point of Lord Charleville, I should make so foolish a figure to be obliged to retract, that, without being punctilious, or assuming more than I ought to do (which is not in my disposition), I cannot remain if Addington insists now on Lord Thomond being recommended by Government. It will be a silly cause for a publick quarrel, and what, I am sure, if properly explained to the King, he would not approve. It is entirely owing to the Duke of Portland, and I should think that a very sufficient reason for explaining the matter fully and distinctly to the King, who, I verily believe, will be found not to be so anxious for the Marquis of Thomond, as to wish his Prime Minister to break his word, and his Government in Ireland to be held up to ridicule by every clerk in the Post Office, Civil Department, etc.

"If you see Addington pray tell him that if I had felt it possible to act otherwise I would have immediately acquiesced in his second thoughts, which, however, upon this occasion, I cannot say are better than the first. Not that it is any question between the two men, or whether the King's wish shall be attended to, but whether the King's wish—concerning which all those who were to act upon it knew nothing—is to supersede a positive promise of the King's Government, merely to save the Duke of Portland the embarrassment of saying that he never recollected the King's recommendation, committed to his charge, until it was too late to give it effect without disgracing an efficient part of the Government. This is the real state of the case, and I shall wait patiently for the event. Abbot entirely agrees with me in thinking that I could do nothing else; and that it is much better for Addington to support himself against such weakness than to give way to it."

* * *

Addington replied to Hardwicke on August 20. He deplored the situation. What pain it caused him! But he was determined to stand by the King's promise. He says:

"I was fully justified in giving you the answer which I sent to your first letter in favour of Lord Charleville; but I should think myself wanting in delicacy and in duty towards the King if I could oppose even your lordship's wishes and a letter of my own—written in ignorance of what had passed—to the species of encouragement given from that Quarter to the Marquis of Thomond. The silence of one of my colleagues has occasioned this difficulty; but I know your lordship too well not to be convinced that you could not be desirous of obviating it at the expense of what is due to the word and, consequently, to the feelings of the King."

Letters between London and Dublin crossed each other. The correspondence assumed a tone of asperity. There were angry reproaches, earnest appeals, bitter objurgations. "Why should not Lord Charleville withdraw his pretentions?" cried Addington, Pelham, and Portland in chorus. Did he know that the word of his sovereign was at stake? How could he call himself a friend to the Administration if he were to continue in his obstinacy? Portland chided himself for not having communicated the King's engagement to his colleagues in the Cabinet. But the fault was not all on his side. As the Irish Department was subordinate to the Home Office, it was the duty of the Lord Lieutenant, before he had committed himself to Lord Charleville, to have ascertained the views of the King's confidential servants through the Secretary of State for the Home Department. "Portland is quite correct on the constitutional point," says Pelham; "that was the custom when I was Chief Secretary for Ireland." From the Prime Minister came entreaties to the Lord Lieutenant to refrain from giving pain to the King. "You well know," he says, "that it ought to be particularly avoided at this time." The poor King had an attack of insanity every time his Ministers showed a disposition to thwart his wishes, and he only recovered when they penitently told him they would do as he desired.

But Hardwicke was inflexible. He resolved upon the daring move of appealing to George III. direct. Here is

an extract from his letter to the King, and a manly, straightforward letter it is. He says:

"In a publick view it is certainly indifferent in itself on which of the two Peers the choice should fall, and it is no otherwise material to myself personally than that it involves the essential stability of the Government here, which cannot be useful or efficient in hands from which the means of executing the promises of your Majesty's Ministers are withheld. This degree of weight and authority was at all time important, but never more so than at the present moment, when the general state of the country is unsettled, and when cabals are on foot hostile to the joint interest of the Empire as cemented by the Union, the full benefits of which—so far as respects due collection of the Revenue, the necessary economy in its expenditure, and the improvement of the internal resources of the country—can never be fully obtained but by an impartial and uncorrupt Government, supported by your Majesty's unquestioned favour and protection.

"Unless some arrangement can be made," he says in conclusion, "which will enable me to fulfil promises which I was regularly authorised to make, I shall feel that nothing can repair the diminution of weight and authority which your Majesty's Government in this country will experience, and that it will be impossible for me to continue in this situation without any further prospect of being useful to your Majesty's service."

Hardwicke, in a letter to the Prime Minister, enclosing a copy of the address which he had sent direct to the King, is more explicit on the subject of the cabals, which he says had been formed to the injury of the Union. Though he does not name him, he has the Earl of Clare in mind as the head of the intriguers. Next to Castlereagh, Fitzgibbon, the Lord Chancellor, was among Irishmen the most powerful advocate of the Union. He indeed it was who first suggested the project to Pitt as far back as 1793. A man of immense ability and consuming ambition, he believed that the government of Ireland would be virtually in his hands after the Union, and was grievously disappointed on finding it was proposed to invest, as heretofore, the supreme authority in the Lord Lieutenant,

He had a profound contempt for the stolid, plodding Englishmen, Hardwicke, the Viceroy, and Abbot, the Chief Secretary, who were sent over to rule Ireland, and he took no pains to conceal it. "Lord Clare," Abbot complains, "conducted himself disrespectfully and disingenuously towards the Lord Lieutenant upon many occasions, public and personal; and impertinently toward me by his letters and language to other people, but it made no difference in the uniform propriety with which Lord Hardwicke treated him; and by my indifference to it he at last thought fit to say that he had set foot upon my neck." It is true that these commonplace Englishmen did not possess a tithe of Clare's talent, but they had that to which he could not lay claim—tact in the management of men, and capacity for government and guidance. Says Hardwicke to Addington:

"The cabals to which I have alluded are not merely those of Anti-Unionists or Half-Traitors; they are those of persons, some of whom, perhaps, are of no small consequence in this country, who, though they supported the Union, supported it in the expectation of a change in the system of Government by which their weight, influence and power in the country might be increased; those who imagined that one consequence of the Union would be the governing of Ireland by means of some of its leading men, formerly known by the name of Undertakers, aided by the co-operation and agency of others, who by such an arrangement would be raised from a mere subordinate situation to that of the real Ministers of this country. To such men (and that there are such is an undeniable fact), the continuing to govern Ireland by a Lord Lieutenant from England has been a subject of mortification and disappointment, and, without referring to any personal dislike of myself, accounts for some things which I have unavoidably observed. Anything, therefore, that would tend to lower either the real or the supposed weight of the Lord Lieutenant would be to them a subject of triumph, and the real and immediate consequence would be an inability to carry on with effect any of the proposed and necessary inquiries into the different offices and depart-

ments, and the best mode of ensuring in future the due collection and expenditure of the publick Revenues."

* * *

To "My dear Charles" everything that happens is reported by the Lord Lieutenant. His Excellency, sending copies of his letters to the King and to the Prime Minister to Charles Yorke on August 21, explains that his references in the letter to Addington are to Lord Clare, and to Cooke, the Under-Secretary, who, having failed to secure the Chief Secretaryship, was on the side of the Lord Chancellor. "They are both disappointed men, and they take care to show it," says Hardwicke. Cooke joined in all the "impertinences and sneers" of the "underlings in office"—the permanent officials of Dublin Castle—when things were not done as they thought fit. "He is, however," continues Hardwicke, "personally civil and submissive, but abuses Abbot and me to those who might very well be supposed to report it again." As to the letter to the King, he says:

"Probably the point may be determined before the King receives it, and possibly it may have no effect; and in that case I must beg that my leaving the Government may make no alteration in your situation at home. I shall never be induced to lend my aid to any factitious opposition, but shall give the same support as if the case had never happened, tho' I shall feel that I have some reason to complain; and what is worse, that the Ministry will weaken itself, not by obliging me to return, but by retracting a promise made by the Prime Minister, and shaking all confidence in future and past engagements."

* * *

The final issue of the dispute is thus set forth in a letter from the Prime Minister to the Lord Lieutenant, dated "Wimbledon, September 2, 1801."

"Your lordship may be assured that his Majesty could not have been reconciled to the postponement of the Marquis of Thomond's claim, nor could any consideration have induced me even to suggest it. His Majesty, however, has been graciously pleased to approve of an arrange-

ment which I thought it right to propose, and which ought to be satisfactory to all parties. It is that of conferring upon the Marquis of Thomond the dignity of a Peer of the United Kingdom, in which case there can be no remaining impediment, on the part of the Government, to the accomplishment of your lordship's wishes in favour of Lord Charleville."

Accordingly, Viscount Charleville was elected a representative peer of Ireland, and the Marquis of Thomond was created a peer of the United Kingdom as Baron Thomond of Taplow, Bucks.*

The Viceroy, acknowledging the Prime Minister's communication, writes:

"It is unnecessary to trouble you by repeating at any length that the only interest I felt in the transaction arose from a conviction of the effect which would have been produced on the public mind by so strong a proof of the inability of the Irish Government to fulfil its engagements. That conviction was confirmed by reports which reached me in the progress of the business, of which (though the particulars were never divulged, and will now, I trust, be buried in oblivion) some idea had nevertheless got abroad, and was evidently operating to the injury of the public service. I therefore sincerely rejoice in the very proper and honourable manner in which you have been able, through his Majesty's condescension and goodness, to bring it to a conclusion."

At the end, the seriousness of the incident was relieved by a piece of comedy, though, no doubt, neither of the actors in it appreciated its humour. On September 7 the Lord Lieutenant sat down in the Viceregal Lodge to write to his brother an expression of his satisfaction with the manner in which an embarrassing situation had been terminated by the King. Charles Yorke, in one of his letters, had complained that the Lord Lieutenant should have taken up so uncompromising an attitude, without having first consulted him as to the effect it might have on his own position in the Administration as Minister for

* Extinction has long since overtaken both these titles.

War. "But," the Lord Lieutenant remonstrates in reply, "you must acknowledge that from the nature of the representations I was obliged to make without loss of time such communication was morally impossible. Besides that, if the King, upon the statement I thought it necessary to transmit to him, had stated his wishes in favour of Lord Thomond, even under the circumstances which I laid before him, I should most probably have thought it my duty to remain here."

But that does not end the humour of the situation. The independent and fearless address threatening resignation which Hardwicke had sent the King—a threat upon which we now know he did not intend to act—was never delivered to his Majesty! "I had written so far," says the Lord Lieutenant in the same communication to his brother, "when your letter of the 3rd arrived, with the mail of the 4th from London." This letter from Charles Yorke informed his Excellency that his address to the King had been forwarded to Tittenhanger, when it was discovered that his Majesty was at Weymouth; and that on the return of the letter, after several days' delay, to London, he had decided to suppress it, as the dispute had in the meantime been happily arranged. The Viceroy was mortified, and he did not conceal his feelings from his brother. "I am persuaded," he says, "that you acted with the truest regard for me upon the occasion, and with the most friendly intention, but I should not act with sincerity if I did not say that it is one of those points on which it is impossible for any person, however near and dear, to judge for another."

CHAPTER IV

THE SCRAMBLE FOR PLACE

THE Earl of Hardwicke was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, vested, according to his Patent of Office, with the royal prerogative of patronage in Irish honours, places, and pensions, and yet he had not a post to give to a relative, a friend, or a supporter! The position, surely, was intolerable! In August, 1801, he consulted Pelham as to whether these embarrassing Union engagements could not be repudiated, as they had been contracted by a former Administration, or else be lifted, by some means or other, off his shoulders. But there was no escape from the burden.

"I humbly conceive," writes Pelham in reply, "that the principles upon which Mr. Addington undertook the Administration, and that your Excellency was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, were that those engagements were as binding as if Mr. Pitt's Administration had continued. The engagements of one Lord Lieutenant were always considered as binding upon his successor, if there was no change of Administration at home, and it was very necessary that they should be so considered in Ireland, for if a contrary principle had been adopted the favours conferred by one Lord Lieutenant would not be considered by those who received them as influencing their support of his successor; and if this system was thought convenient during the independence of the Irish Parliament, I am sure your Excellency will not hesitate about it at this moment, when the Governments are identified and consolidated."

After this Hardwicke endeavoured straightforwardly and candidly to discharge as quickly as possible the debt

incurred by the statesmen of the Union. It was not a pleasant task, but there was nothing dishonourable in it. Such seems to have been the view taken of the matter by the Lord Lieutenant. He paid the Union account without any sense of personal humiliation. There was just a grumble now and then over the difficult and equivocal position in which he unexpectedly found himself; there was just an occasional sulk that he was unable to respond to the claims of relationship, to think of his own favourites, in distributing the dignities, appointments, and pensions which constituted the patronage of his office. But it does not make him cynical. He does not preach; he does not moralize. There is not to be found in the mass of his correspondence a single expression of surprise or regret that it should have been found necessary to carry the Union by the means disclosed in the List of Union Engagements. Perhaps he viewed it merely as an exhibition of the mean and sordid but inevitable side of Government or of political life at the opening of the nineteenth century.

* * *

The conscientiousness with which Hardwicke endeavoured promptly "to liquidate the Union engagements"—to employ a phrase he was fond of using himself—is seen in the paying off of the claim of Lieutenant-Colonel John Creighton. Shortly after the arrival of Hardwicke in Ireland the military post of Governor of Ross Castle became vacant. On referring to the List of Union Engagements, the Lord Lieutenant found that a military situation, or an equivalent £800 per annum, had been promised to Major Creighton, subsequently promoted to the command of a regiment. Creighton was the second son of the Earl of Erne, and he and his elder brother (afterwards the second earl) had sat in the Irish House of Commons. Both of them voted against the Union in the session of 1799, when it was defeated, but, rapidly changing their opinions, like many other members of Parliament, they supported it in the session of 1800, when it was carried. Their

father also supported the measure in House the of Lords. The rewards given for these services were the promotion of the father from a viscountcy to an earldom, and the promise of a military post for the second son. Accordingly, Hardwicke, feeling bound in honour—as he expressed himself to the Home Secretary—to apply the vacant situation of Governor of Ross Castle to the satisfaction of a Union engagement, wrote to Lord Erne offering the post to his son. The offer was accepted. But, to the Lord Lieutenant's chagrin, the office was otherwise disposed of in London, without the slightest reference to him, by the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of York. Thereupon Hardwicke wrote as follows to Addington, the Prime Minister :

" *Private and confidential.*

" PHŒNIX PARK,
" *June* 27, 1801.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" I am under the disagreeable necessity of troubling you upon a subject which not only occasions a degree of personal embarrassment to myself, but may, in its consequences, have very unpleasant effects in regard to Government. You are no stranger to the variety and extent of the engagements which Lord Cornwallis was under the necessity of contracting for the purpose of carrying the great measure of Union, engagements which he was authorized to make under the King's sanction by the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, and which have been delivered to me under your authority. From the observations I have already made I have no hesitation in saying that if there were now a Parliament here, the publick business could not be carried on with so heavy a mortgage upon the patronage of the Crown in this country, and that even now the mere carrying of those engagements into effect is a matter of no small difficulty. If the faith of the Government is to be kept in regard to those engagements, which are not personal in regard to Lord Cornwallis, but entirely of a publick nature, and for the sake of a measure which was thought and which daily experience proves to have been essentially necessary, it is my duty to fulfil them as soon as possible, and I look

to that object upon the occasion of every vacancy where the situation can be applied to that purpose.

"The government of Ross Castle, which was merely a ten-shilling government,* appeared to be of that description; and as it is stated to me that there are few if any instances of any government in this country being disposed of in England without some communication with the Lord Lieutenant, I did not imagine that I was exceeding my powers in applying that government to satisfy an engagement made for a great publick object. The person whom I intended to recommend to his Majesty was, as I conceive, properly selected for such an object of patronage—I mean Lieut.-Col. Creighton, son of Lord Erne, to whom there is an engagement for a situation of £400 a year—and though the government in question is far inferior to that amount, yet Lord Erne, who has always expressed a wish for some military situation for his son, had actually consented to accept it. In regard to Lord Erne, therefore, who was amongst the most honourable supporters of the Union, I am placed in the most awkward situation, from which I trust H.R.H. the Duke of York will relieve me by appointing Lieut.-Col. Creighton to a government of equal value in Great Britain.

"But the consequences of the whole patronage of Ireland of a similar description being at once taken from the office to which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint me will, in the present moment at least, and till the Union engagements are satisfied, be very serious indeed; more so, I am convinced, than you can be aware of till they are distinctly explained. The fact is that the bribes, almost openly offered by what Lord Clare called the Consular Exchequer,† obliged the Government to

* The emoluments of the position were ten shillings a day.

† "A hundred thousand pounds was subscribed, or more probably promised, by leading members of the Party, and some desperate but manifestly hopeless attempts were made to combat the Government by their own weapons. Two seats which the Government believed they had secured were obtained by the Opposition, and Peter Burrowes and Thomas Goold—two able opponents of the Union—were introduced into the House. Saurin was soon brought in for one of Lord Downshire's boroughs, and other measures of a more than dubious kind were taken. One venal member—a brother-in-law of Lord Clare—who had voted for the Union in 1799, was unquestionably bribed by a sum of £4,000 to vote against it in 1800, and it is stated by Grattan's biographer that another vote was only lost because the money was not forthcoming for another bribe."—LECKY; "Ireland in the Eighteenth Century."

counteract their influence by the same system in order to carry the measure ; and hence arose the engagements for certain salaries without office, or money payments, which are upon the list of engagements, and which have already created some embarrassment. These must somehow or other be done away ; for as the gentlemen to whom they are payable have very little delicacy upon the subject, they will make no secret of the conduct of Government if the payments are not made good, or (which more particularly bears upon the question at present) if they observe either an unwillingness, or an inability, in Government to satisfy the engagements in general.

" I need add very little more upon the subject, except that as Colonel Littlehales,* who was acquainted with all the transactions at the time of the Union, has written fully to my brother, Mr. Yorke, I wish particularly to refer you to his letter. I also recommend myself to your friendly support and assistance with the Duke of York, for I feel that this appointment of General Johnston, without any communication with me, direct or indirect, will leave an impression not very favourable to the publick interests in Ireland. Above all, though we were not personally concerned in them, it behoves us to prevent the Union transactions from being divulged in Parliament, of which there is great danger, if the faith of Government is not strictly observed, and if there is not a general impression that it will be."

A few months later, in August, 1801, another important military post, the government of Kinsale, fell vacant. In this case the first step taken by the cautious and circumspect Hardwicke was the sending of a letter to the Duke of York, expressing his earnest wish that his Royal Highness would recommend Lieutenant-Colonel Creighton for the post. He pointed out that Lord Erne was among the most honourable of the supporters of the Union in the Irish House of Lords ; that he had had two members in the Irish House of Commons who voted for the measure ; that he had asked, in return, a military situation for his younger son, and had been grievously disappointed be-

* Littlehales was Military Secretary both to Lord Cornwallis and to Lord Hardwicke.

cause the government of Ross Castle, which was promised him, had been given to another. The Lord Lieutenant then goes on to remonstrate with his Royal Highness:

"I have undertaken the Government of Ireland with a very heavy mortgage on the patronage of the Crown, arising, not from any private engagements of my predecessor, but from the necessity of carrying through the Irish Parliament the great measure of the Union, the incalculable advantage of which to the King's service, and to the particular interests of Ireland, and to the joint security and strength of his Majesty's dominions, will, I am convinced, become every day more and more apparent. But I must beg leave to represent to your Royal Highness that as the Union engagements of Lord Cornwallis, which are both of a civil and military nature, were transferred to me, under the King's sanction, the patronage of the Crown in Ireland ought to be considered as applicable to the purpose of satisfying them in the same manner as it certainly would have been if Lord Cornwallis had continued in the Government himself."

The reply of the Duke of York, signed "Frederic," insists that the first consideration in the disposal of military posts must be the interest of the Army. Says his Royal Highness:

"I shall not enlarge upon the manner in which the Army promotions were made in Ireland, upon the abuses which took place, and upon the melancholy state in which the Troops were in Ireland in consequence.

"His Majesty was so thoroughly aware of the necessity of making a reform in this particular that from the moment the Union was determined upon, it was decided that the two Armies should be in all respects consolidated, and so strongly was this impressed upon his Majesty's mind that after the first of this year his Majesty would not admit of the usual form of Lord Cornwallis's transmitting the recommendations for promotions in Ireland till they were carried in by me. I cannot doubt your Lordship's statement of Lord Cornwallis having promised military governments in Ireland in satisfaction of Union engagements, but I can assure your Lordship that I never heard of them, and am the more astonished at it, as his Lordship never hinted at any such measure to me.

"I have entered thus fully into this statement, wishing that your Lordship should receive every information on the subject, and should be convinced that no want of respect has been shown, or, I am sure, intended towards you; but that before ever Lord Cornwallis's resignation was expected the present system was intended to be laid down."

At the same time, the Duke of York declares he should always be ready to give every assistance in his power to the Government in carrying out their obligations. He proposed to recommend Lieutenant-Colonel Gardiner for the government of Kinsale, and Major Creighton to succeed Gardiner as governor of Hurst Castle, on the Solent. Hardwicke, expressing to his Royal Highness his satisfaction with the arrangement, says:

"At the same time I think it right to take this opportunity of explaining to your Royal Highness that the Union engagements which were delivered to me by Lord Cornwallis did not contain any specific promises of particular military objects, but some of them being to military men were capable of being liquidated by such objects as that which I was desirous of applying to the engagement made to Lord Erne in favour of his son; and the engagements being to a very considerable extent, it was desirable to call in aid every object of patronage in the country that could with propriety be made applicable to any particular case. I thought it right to trouble your Royal Highness with this general explanation upon the subject, and to express my hope for your concurrence in any similar instance which may occur hereafter.

"I should, of course, be careful to recommend no person merely on the ground of an engagement unless he were proper for the situation, independently of that consideration."

* * *

In the List of Union Engagements will be found the following entry: "Bishop of Meath—A Revenue situation for his brother, from £200 to £300 per annum." Dr. O'Beirne, Bishop of Meath, had been a Catholic, and was being educated for the priesthood when he joined the Protestant Church. He is supposed to be the Irish Protestant

clergyman, O'Beirne, who performed the marriage ceremony between Mrs. Fitzherbert and George IV. when Prince of Wales, in December, 1785. He supported the Whig cause in a series of pamphlets, with the result that he accompanied Earl Fitzwilliam—appointed Viceroy in 1794—to Ireland as first chaplain and private secretary. In 1795 he was appointed Bishop of Ossory, and in 1798 was translated to the See of Meath. The Bishop was a conspicuous supporter of the Union. Here is a letter from him to the Viceroy in reference to the engagement:

"TUNBRIDGE WELLS,
"*June* 27, 1801.

"MY LORD,

"In the multiplicity of business in which your Excellency must be engaged, under the present circumstances of your Government, I am fearful of being guilty of great impropriety by breaking in on your Excellency's time with a private concern of my own. But a letter which I have this day received from my brother compels me to overcome my repugnance to such an intrusion, and, I hope, will plead my excuse.

"I must be aware that it is to Lord Cornwallis's recommendation alone that I am indebted for the offer your Excellency has been pleased to direct Col. Littlehales to make to my brother of the place of Barrack Master to the Cashell district. I could pretend to no other interest with your Excellency. But as I cannot but feel highly gratified by your Excellency's taking so early an opportunity of realizing the kind wishes of the late Government in my favour, I scarce know how to reconcile myself to the task my brother has imposed on me of begging leave to decline the appointment.

"The promise of providing for my brother has been of long standing, as old as my own particular connexions with two Lord Lieutenants, both of whom staid too short a time to fulfill it. Mr. Pelham and Lord Camden were kind enough to renew it towards the end of their Administration, after I had the good fortune of recommending myself to their notice. I was then encouraged to apply for a specific place, that of Landwaiter on the Custom House Quay in Dublin, a place generally estimated at between £400 and £500 per annum; but at

the same time I stated that any other of about that value would fully gratify me, and something on that scale was what I had reason to know was in their contemplation.

"When Lord Camden was so good as to leave a memorandum of this, with the other promises he had made, I do not know that he mentioned anything specific. In my own conversations with Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh on the subject I contented myself with stating what I had expected from Lord Camden and Mr. Pelham, and with the kind wishes they expressed, as well in consequence of that recommendation, as from what they were pleased to say of their desire of giving me that additional mark of their own approbation of my conduct; and, except that towards the end of the last session of the Irish Parliament I asked for the place of one of the Commissioners of the new Navigation Board, I did not trouble them with any specific application.

"I have ventured to enter into this detail to account to your Excellency for what, otherwise, you might think unwarrantable in my brother, and in the hope that you will not be offended at refusing any mark of your Excellency's favour, which you might be pleased to extend to him. The place of Barrack Master to the Cashell district, I see by Col. Littlehales' letter to my brother, is about ten shillings a day, requiring constant residence, and that my brother should give up his company in the Longford Militia. I need not tell your Excellency that his company is more lucrative, even if the place of Barrack Master, such as that of the district of Cashell, was the place of a gentleman, which in the time of my being acquainted with the nature of the Lord Lieutenant's patronage, it was not considered to be, and from the person who fills the place in my own neighbourhood it cannot be now esteemed to be.

"I shall not obtrude any longer on your Excellency's time than to beg leave to assure you of my most sincere wishes for the success of your Excellency's Government, and of my earnest desire to contribute, as far as my humble line will admit, to its credit and support.

"I have the honour to be with the highest respect, my Lord, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

"T. L. MEATH."

In December, 1801, the brother obtained the post to which he aspired, that of landwaiter on the quay of Dublin; and the Bishop, in a letter to the Lord Lieutenant, expresses his very grateful sense of the gracious manner in which his Excellency had fulfilled the engagement. "It has," he says, "changed what was originally the promise of another into an act of kindness on the part of your Excellency, that has much stronger claims on my gratitude, and must ever command my warmest acknowledgments." But the post proved disappointing to the brother. Writing to the Viceroy from Ardbraccan House, Navan, on May 23, 1804, the Bishop, after recounting the history of the transaction, says:

"When your Excellency was pleased to offer him the place of Inspector-General of Barracks, I requested Mr. Abbot to inform your Excellency that while I accepted with great thankfulness this proof of so early an attention to the recommendation that procured my brother the honour of your notice, I begged leave to state that the place of Landwaiter on the Quay of Dublin was what I had been encouraged to expect for him.

"In a short time after, your Excellency was so good as to direct Mr. Abbot to offer him this place of Landwaiter, and in the letter he wrote conveying to me your Excellency's pleasure, he observed that although it might not be as lucrative, from some late regulations, as I had known it to be when I first applied for it, yet he could offer it as worth five hundred a year. This was, certainly, much lower than the perquisites of the office in Lord Camden or Lord Cornwallis's time. Yet had it proved to have been worth even that much, I never should have obtruded upon your goodness with any further applications. But my brother can make it appear that in consequence of the new regulations he is, at this moment, scarcely receiving at the rate of three hundred pounds a year; while from the distinction that has been made between the Landwaiters, and the difference of duty assigned to those with whose class he has been thrown, it has become a place of such drudging and slavery as never could have been in the contemplation of anyone succeeding, as he did, to Mr. French, who was one of the older-established Landwaiters."

What the Bishop now desired was that his brother should succeed "Mr. Scanlan, whose place is worth something more than £500 a year." His desire was again satisfied; for, writing on July 3, 1804, he offers his "most grateful acknowledgments" to his Excellency. But the exuberant thankfulness of the letter is best shown by its concluding sentence:

"I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and most sincere attachment, my Lord, your Excellency's greatly-obliged and most obedient humble servant,

"T. L. MEATH."

* * *

In November, 1801, a vacancy in the collectorship of Dundalk was anticipated. "Anne Roden," the Dowager Lady Roden, at once wrote to the Viceroy—her son, the Earl of Roden, being then absent in London attending to his Parliamentary duties—that this post had always been in the patronage of "the Family." Hardwicke, in his reply, stated that the post, when vacant, must be applied to the discharge of one of the Union engagements; and added that the engagement to Lord Roden for his Union services had been fulfilled by the appointment of his brother-in-law, Mr. Straton, to a position on the Navigation Board, worth £400 a year. Lady Roden, writing again, insisted that the office given to Mr. Straton, her son-in-law, was the reward, not for Union services, but for the return of Isaac Corry, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, as member for Dundalk in the Imperial Parliament.

"I beg leave to represent to your Excellency," she adds, "that neither Lord Roden, my son, nor my son-in-law in Parliament, have at any time received the least consideration from the Government of this country on account of their steady and uniform support of the momentous question agitated in the last Session of the Irish Parliament, which they so strenuously seconded upon all occasions."

Then came the following letter from Lord Roden to the Viceroy:

"LONDON,
"*November 16th*, 1801.

"MY LORD,

"In consequence of having received a copy of a letter your Excellency was pleased to write to the Dowager Lady Roden, dated Phœnix Park, Nov. 5th, respecting the disposal of the Collection of Dundalk (in case a vacancy should occur), I find myself called upon (for the sake of my Family and particularly for the sake of my own feelings) to trespass upon your Excellency's time, as I must conceive my situation, and the circumstances that attend the one to which I allude, have not been perfectly made known to your Excellency.

"Your Excellency, I hope and trust, has been informed of the public line of conduct of the Family to which I belong, the elder part of which had the honour of being much connected with an ancestor of yours. I thank God, my Lord, before and since that period it has had the pleasing satisfaction of shewing on every occasion its loyalty and firm support of His Majesty's Government, in consequence of which especial favours from the Crown have been confer'd on different branches of it. As to the recent ones, viz., Lord Cornwallis having been pleased to recommend my son to be appointed joint Auditor-General with me, I have his Lordship's word, and if my assertion could be doubted I can have it under his hand, that that mark of Royal favour was confer'd on me in consequence of my military services in Ireland,* and not

* "Another large body of rebels, who had agreed with General Dundas to surrender their arms, were assembled for that purpose at a place called Gibbet-rath, or the Curragh of Kildare. Sir James Duff, who had just made a rapid march from Limerick with 600 men, proceeded with his force to receive the weapons, Unfortunately, a gun was fired from the rebel ranks. According to the most probable account it was fired into the air by a rebel who foolishly boasted that he would only deliver his gun empty. Instantly a deadly volley was poured by the troops into the rebels, who fled in wild panic and disorder, fiercely pursued by Lord Jocelyn's Foxhunters. The officers lost all control over their men. In the vast and open plain defence and escape were alike impossible, and although General Dundas, on hearing what had occurred, hastened to do all that was possible to arrest the slaughter, between 200 and 300 men were killed. The affair was plausibly, though untruly, represented as a deliberate plot to massacre defenceless men who had been lured by the promise of pardon into the plain, and it contributed perhaps more than any other single cause to check the disposition to surrender

in consideration of any political measure; for I beg to assure your Excellency that as to the great question lately agitated, no power on this earth should have influenced me to have supported that most important measure of Legislative Union, if I had not been most decidedly of opinion of its great efficacy, for in my opinion it was a question of too much import for any man of honor to act upon but from positive conviction. As to the appointment of my brother-in-law, Mr. Straton, to the Navigation Board, the original promise was made for returning Mr. Corry for Dundalk,* with the addition of its being made an employment of £500 per annum, instead of £400, which your Excellency was pleased voluntarily to do in the most obliging possible manner, which I shall ever remember with much gratitude.

"I have many apology's to make for taking up so much of your Excellency's time, but the refusal of the patronage of the town of Dundalk to our Family, contained in the letter I have already aluded to, has been so unexpected an event to me, that I must beg your indulgence for a few moments. From the whole of the town and vicinage of Dundalk having belonged to our Family, it has, almost uninterruptedly, indeed I believe entirely so, been considered that in case of any vacancy occurring in the gift of Government within that situation, the nomination was offered to the representative of that property. On the death of my uncle, the late Earl of Clanbrassil, I became possessor of that estate, and since that event has taken place I have had assurances from the different Governments in Ireland that the same patronage should be continued to me, and last year Mr. Gataker was put

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arms."—LECKY: "Ireland in the Eighteenth Century." The Lord Jocelyn of this incident in the Rebellion of 1798 is the Earl of Roden of the letter to the Lord Lieutenant.

* Isaac Corry sat in the Irish Parliament for Newry. He was one of the leading advocates of the Union, and was appointed to the office of Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, of which Sir John Parnell was deprived on account of his opposition to the Union. The personal antagonism between Corry and Henry Grattan became so bitter during the debates on the Union that one night they left the House of Commons and fought a duel at Balls' Bridge, outside Dublin. Corry was wounded in the arm, and Grattan escaped unhurt. Corry lost his seat for Newry in an election for the first United Parliament, but through the Roden influence was returned for Dundalk.

into a Revenue situation there with my consent, and since Mr. Purcell has been nominated to a Revenue situation there at my request. I shall lament, indeed, if when I am absent from Ireland supporting his Majesty's Governmen here, that your Excellency shall think proper to deprive me of a similar mark of Royal favour that has been bestowed by former Governments on my Family, and put a stranger into a situation that has always been filled by a person of our nomination. It will not only materially affect me in the present instance, but be a means of our Family never in future seeking it as a claim of patronage. I can only say I trust neither I nor any person belonging to my Family have committed any act that should preclude us from a continuance of that line of conduct that has uniformly been bestowed in the situation in question. I shall have to lament that under your Excellency's Administration, I should be deprived of that local patronage my ancestors ever possessed.

"From a conversation my brother, Mr. Percy Jocelyn, mentions to have had the honor of having with your Excellency, I learn that it was not your intention immediately to fill up the employment. I trust that the statement I have had the honor to lay before your Excellency will induce you to consider my situation, and that I may not have the mortification to reflect that his Majesty's existing Government in Ireland have judged proper at this period to deprive me of a situation of patronage which former Governments have ever consider'd as belonging to my Family, and which has (by influence) ever assisted us in the zealous support of his Majesty's Government, which has ever been the pride and object of our lives.

"I intreat your Excellency's forgiveness for the length of this letter, the very great importance of the object it contains, will, I trust, plead my excuse. I have only now to request that your Excellency will permit me to return you my sincere thanks for your obliging kindness on a former occasion, and also for the flattering expressions contained in a letter I had the honor sometime since to receive; and have the honor to be, my Lord, with high respect and esteem,

"Your Excellency's obliged, faithful, humble servant,

"RODEN."

On the same day Lord Roden wrote to Cornwallis, saying, "I am rather apprehensive, without your being so good as to say that you promised me during your Administration the patronage of the town (which you was pleased to do in your own closet), I may be most materially injured by a stranger being put in upon me there." To this Cornwallis, writing at Paris on November 23, 1801, replied:

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I feel very sensibly the honorable support which your Lordship afforded my Administration in Ireland; and I perfectly recollect that I gave you the strongest assurance that so long as I continued in the Government of that country you should have the patronage of the town of Dundalk."

Roden sent to the Viceroy copies of his letter to Cornwallis, and of the latter's answer, in support of his own communication to his Excellency. But it was all without avail. The Lord Lieutenant refused to budge from the position he had taken up in his letter to Lady Roden.

"I trust your lordship will give me credit for wishing to show you every mark of respect in my power," Hardwicke replies, "and for doing full justice to your useful and spirited exertions, both political and military, in support of His Majesty's Government in Ireland. I am also perfectly convinced that your conduct upon those great and important events which have of late years occupied the attention of the public in this country, was the result of a sincere conviction, and the most honourable feeling of duty, and that no other consideration could have induced your lordship to have acted in the manner you did upon a late question, which was one upon which the most honourable men might fairly have differed, and, as your lordship observes, of too great import for any man of honour to act upon but from positive conviction."

Then the "but" comes in, represented by those unfortunate Union engagements. Hardwicke continues:

"But if such an office as that of Collector at Dundalk should become vacant before the engagements to which

I am personally pledged shall be fulfilled, I am sure your Lordship will feel, if you place yourself in my situation, that neither my own individual honour nor that of the Government will allow me to have any other choice than that of selecting, from those whose engagements may be at the time unsatisfied, the person most proper to perform the duties of the place. As there is not at present a vacancy, I have no idea who that person may be; but, although he were a perfect stranger to me, if the faith of the Government is generally pledged to him, and if he is fit for the employment, I must prefer him to every other recommendation."

Roden, however, was not content.

"How my very much respected and sincerely esteem'd friend, Lord Cornwallis," he writes to Hardwicke, "can reconcile his having given me the patronage of Dundalk, and fulfilling his engagements with an appointment existing under that patronage, I cannot say; but the business is certainly attached to him and most clearly not to your Excellency's Government. Under the present circumstances of the case, I shall by this day's post write to Mr. Straton to have the honor of waiting on your Excellency, and shall recommend to him to resign his situation at the Navigation Board in order that he may accept of your Excellency's appointment to the Collection of Dundalk."*

* * *

Joseph Blake, Lord Wallscourt, had his eye on this collectorship of Dundalk in the interest of his brother. The engagement will be found in the "Civil" section of the List of Union Engagements. "Lord Wallscourt—A Revenue situation, for his brother, £400 per annum." Among the persons to whom Lord Cornwallis in his letter to the Duke of Portland of June 9, 1800—while yet the fate of the scheme of the Union was undecided—states that he had "ventured to hold out a reasonable expectation that in consequence of their valuable services his Majesty would in his goodness raise them to the rank of peers in Ireland" was Joseph Blake, one of the members

* See Straton's case in the "Civil" section of the List of Union Engagements.

for Galway. Blake was accordingly created Baron Wallscourt. Writing from "Ardfry, near Loughrea," on January 6, 1802, to Dr. Lindsay, the Viceroy's private secretary, he says:

"Common report informing me that some vacancies in public situations were likely to occur shortly, I took the liberty of reminding Lord Castlereagh of an engagement that the late Administration were pleased to enter into for a provision for my only brother, to which his Lordship has favoured me with a reply, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy.

"The expected vacancies I allude to are the Collectorship of Dundalk, and the retirement of some of the Commissioners of the Revenue. Not that I look to any of the latter situations for my brother, but possibly they may be filled by gentlemen who vacate places of less consequence. Should my information be correct, permit me to take the liberty of requesting that you will be so good as to solicit his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to appoint my brother (Henry James Blake) to one of those vacancies, or any other situation of the annual value of from £500 to £600 that may fall to his Excellency's disposal.

"His Excellency, I trust, will feel inclined to serve my brother when he is informed that I represented the county of Galway during ten years (and until his Majesty was pleased to remove me to the Peerage), in the course of which time my opinions, fortunately, coincided with the measures of His Majesty's Ministers, so as to enable me to give them my *uniform* support. Though conceiving myself entitled to some attention, I did not trouble the Government for any situation of emolument for myself or any of my family, as will appear by none such being held by any relation of mine at present. I am persuaded that it is unnecessary for me to urge this matter further, his Excellency being apprized of my hopes and wishes."

"I perfectly recollect," Castlereagh writes in the note which Wallscourt enclosed, "the assurance you received whilst I was in office of having a provision made for your brother, in compliance with which the engagement was handed over by Lord Cornwallis to Lord Hardwicke; and I have no doubt his Excellency will take the earliest opportunity of carrying it into effect. If I have an oppor-

tunity, I shall be happy in conversation to suggest anything that can promote your wishes. I am persuaded. however, that no further suggestion from me is necessary to secure the accomplishment of the engagement in question."

Wallscourt's brother did not, as we know, obtain the collectorship of Dundalk. The engagement to Wallscourt is endorsed by the Lord Lieutenant in the official list as "not done." That was in 1804. But I find that Henry Blake, Wallscourt's brother, was appointed subsequently to the portsurveyorship of Galway.

* * *

Then there is the interesting case of Sir Vere Hunt, of Curragh Chase, Limerick, who sat for that county in the Irish Parliament, and was promised a post of £500 a year for his support of the Union.* The Irish Executive had considerable trouble in satisfying this claim. Here is a memorandum sent from London by Wickham to the Viceroy of an interview between him and Lord Limerick, Hunt's brother-in-law:

"*July 12th*, 1803.

"Offered Sir Vere Hunt, through Lord Limerick, £500 a year until a place of the same value (*not a sinecure*) should be given to him, admitting his claim to the £500 a year from the beginning of the year 1800, but no earlier.

"N.B.—Sir Vere Hunt claims from the beginning of 1799.

"OR,

"The Weighmastership of Cork (*a sinecure*) of £600 a year, the appointment to date from the day of Mr. Crosbie's death, Sir Vere Hunt renouncing all claim to the arrears of his allowance of £500 a year.

"This offer made as an ultimatum from which the Irish Government will not recede, Sir Vere Hunt to choose between the two, and until his choice is made to receive nothing.

"N.B.—This was read over and over again to Lord

* Hunt was the father of Sir Aubrey De Vere the poet, author of "Julian the Apostate" and "Mary Tudor," who in 1832 assumed by Royal license the surname of De Vere, and grandfather of the late Aubrey De Vere, a most gracious figure in the literary circles of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Limerick, who was not allowed, however, to take it away in writing."

How the engagement was settled is thus humorously recorded in a letter from C. W. Flint, of the Irish Office, London, to Alexander Marsden, the Under-Secretary for Ireland, dated July 20, 1803.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I had a very long battle with Sir Vere Hunt last week on the subject of the ultimatum of the Irish Government communicated to him at Mr. Wickham's particular desire by Lord Limerick. He, of course, told me how ill he had been treated by everybody except Mr. Wickham. He abused Lords Castlereagh and Limerick most lustily, and expressed himself particularly anxious that his claims on the Irish Government should be referred to the decision of a fair and honourable umpire, and mentioned Mr. Casey as a fit and proper man for this important office. I told him that all umpires were out of the case, and that he had only to choose between two very plain and simple offers—a place of £500 a year (not a sinecure), admitting his claim to £500 a year from the beginning of 1800, but no earlier; or the Weighmastership of Cork (a sinecure) worth £600 a year, the appointment to date from the day of Mr. Crosbie's death, Sir V. renouncing all claim to the arrears of this allowance of £500 a year. He left me, very little satisfied; but before he went away he begged I would ask Mr. Wickham whether Lord Hardwicke would have any objection to insert his son's name in the patent instead of his own. I told him I would mention this to Mr. Wickham.

"Sir Vere called on me again this morning, when I informed him of Mr. Wickham's desire that he must either accept the ultimatum or he must reject it altogether; and that with respect to his son's name being inserted in the patent instead of his own, it was a thing quite out of the case. Poor Sir V. looked rather queer, but seeing that we were not to be bullied, he very gravely told me that he would accept of the Weighmastership, and begged I would request Mr. Wickham to cause his patent to be prepared as soon as possible. Thus, thank God, have you got rid of him for ever."

But the Irish Executive were not yet rid of Sir Vere Hunt. In a letter dated "Phœnix Park, July 28th,

1805," and marked "secret and confidential," addressed by the Lord Lieutenant to Nicholas Vansittart, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, there is an extraordinary story told about Hunt's bribe and Edward Cooke, who was Under-Secretary at the time of the Union. It says:

"MY DEAR SIR,

"It is a matter of some delicacy to explain the grounds of Sir Vere Hunt's complaint. I understand that he was promised a payment of £500 per annum till he was appointed to an office of that value. That when he called for payment at the Civil Office, Mr. Taylor, who had charge of such proportions of the Secret Service Money as were drawn from the Treasury and remained in readiness for application, paid over to Mr. Cooke a sum of £500 which he promised to Sir Vere, who was then in the room, should be remitted to him. When Sir Vere called upon Mr. Marsden in the following year he asserted that he had never received the money; and though Mr. Marsden and Mr. Taylor wrote to Mr. Cooke upon the subject, stating Sir Vere's assertion, and the latter, Mr. Taylor, particularly reminding him of the circumstances, they have to this hour never received any answer to their letter.

"This was again complained of by Sir Vere Hunt when he accepted the place of Weighmaster of Cork, and as that office, which was called £600 per annum, certainly exceeded £500, it was stated by Mr. Wickham both to Sir Vere Hunt and Lord Limerick to be given in satisfaction of all arrears, which, I understand, did not exceed the one year's payment of £500 which has been so unaccountably withheld by Mr. Cooke."

* * *

Here is a letter signed "Boyle Roche."* What has

* "Sir Boyle Roche certainly was, without exception, the most celebrated and entertaining anti-grammarian in the Irish Parliament. I knew him intimately. He was of a very respectable Irish family, and, in point of appearance, a fine bluff, soldier-like old gentleman. He had numerous good qualities, and having been long in the army his ideas were full of honour and etiquette, of discipline and bravery. He had a claim to the title of Fermoy, which, however, he never pursued, and was brother to the famous Tiger Roche, who fought some desperate duel abroad and was near being hanged for it. Sir Boyle was perfectly well bred in all his habits, had been appointed Gentleman Usher at the Irish Court, and executed the duties of that office to the day of his death with the utmost satisfaction to himself as well

" the buffoon of the Irish Parliament " got to say ? He, too, is a petitioner for a place. He had voted for the Union, and, as will be seen on reference to the " Pension " section of the Union engagements, he had received a pension of £400 a year for life. Writing to Hardwicke from 29, Thayer Street, near Manchester Square, London, " May ye 12, 1801," he says :

" I believe your Excellency knows I had a place at the Castle for above 23 years, which I resigned to Capt. Bruce (a friend of Lord Castlereagh) for an annuity from the Government."

He points out that the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, though abolished by the Union as an office of the House of Lords, remained as an office of the Order of St. Patrick and of the Viceregal household, and presumes that, as it had now no salary attached, it was probably little sought for.

" As I have been so many years about the Castle town," he says, " I shall feel displaced at being removed from it ; and if your Excellency will have the goodness to appoint me Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, without a salary, which will give me an opportunity of attending about your person, and in which I may be useful, being perfectly acquainted with everything about the Castle, I shall consider myself as highly honoured."

His wish was gratified by his appointment as a " Gentleman at Large " in the Viceregal household.

* * *

Opponents of the Union are also found in the thick of the scramble for place. Here comes the name of " Jonah Barrington," the Sir Jonah of that graphic work

as to everyone in connection with him. He was married to the eldest daughter of Sir John Cane, Bart., and his lady, who was a *bas bleu*, prematurely injured Sir Boyle's capacity, it was said, by forcing him to read Gibbon's ' Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire,' whereat he was so cruelly puzzled, without being in the least amused, that in his cups he often stigmatized the great historian as a low fellow, who ought to have been kicked out of company wherever he was for turning people's thoughts away from their prayers and their politics to what the devil himself could make neither head nor tail of !"—JONAH BARRINGTON : " Personal Recollections of his Own Times."

on the Union, "The Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation." He sat in the Irish House of Commons, and in his book he poses as an unpurchasable patriot. "Refused all terms," he proudly writes of himself. A motion in favour of the Union was, as I have said, defeated in the session of 1799. But in the session of 1800 the supporters of the Union were in a decisive majority. There was no General Election in the interval. Parliament had been packed by the method of inducing many of the opponents of the measure to make way for friends of the Government. One of the patriots who resigned was Jonah Barrington. Clogher, for which he sat, was a Government borough; and it was the rule in those days that the representative of a nomination borough must vote as his patron directed or resign.* However, in September, 1801, he called on Hardwicke, with a letter of introduction from the Earl of Westmorland, a former Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Hardwicke, writing on the subject to Westmorland, says:

"Mr. Barrington seemed desirous of explaining the situation in which he has stood in regard to Government, before the question of Union, and though he was aware that he could not be considered as entitled to early favour, yet he wished not to be looked upon as hostile, and claimed some merit for having given up his seat in Parliament after the first session in which the Union was discussed. He does not appear to have any particular object, though I presume he some time or other will look to the Bench."

* He opposed the Union, as he states in his "Personal Recollections," by every means in his power, both in and out of Parliament. "In January, 1800," he says, "I received a letter from Lord Westmorland, stating that as Clogher had been a Government seat he doubted if I could in honour retain it. I had already made up my mind to resign it when required. I mentioned the subject to Mr. Foster, the Speaker, who thought I was not bound to resign. However, I acceded to the suggestion of Lord Westmorland, and accepted an escheatorship. But no office in His Majesty's gift, no power, no *deprivation*, would have induced me to support the Union." Barrington was ultimately appointed Judge of the Admiralty Court, and knighted. In 1830 he fled to France, and by a resolution of both Houses of Parliament was removed from his office for embezzlement of the fees of the Court. He died at Versailles in 1834.

But until the legal engagements arising out of the Union were settled, there was no place for Jonah Barrington.

Here, too, is John Egan, another barrister on the hunt for a job. He was member for Tallagh in the Irish Parliament.* In 1799 he was appointed Chairman of the Kilmainham Sessions, in the hope of securing his vote for the Union. During the debate on the question it was noticed that he appeared ill at ease. What side should he take? That was the question which perplexed him. At last, making up his mind, he sprang to his feet, and delivered a vehement, uncompromising speech against the Union. The exclamation with which he concluded is historic. "Ireland for ever!" he cried, "and damn Kilmainham!"

Here is a curiously artless and ingenuous letter which he addressed to Hardwicke:

"ELY PLACE, DUBLIN,
"*Oct.* 17, 1801.

"MY LORD,

"Baron Metge I know intends to resign his seat in the Exchequer; and if the wishes of that able and upright Judge could designate a fit successor, I am authorized to say to your Excellency they rest upon me. Convinced that the grandson of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, whose pre-eminence in talents, as in virtues, is so familiar to the lawyer's ear, will consult every means to fill the judicial situations with learning, talents, experience, and integrity,

* "Mr. Egan, one of the roughest-looking persons possible, being at one time a supporter of the Government, made virulent philippics in the Irish House of Commons against the French Revolution. His figure was coarse and bloated, and his dress not over elegant withal. In fact, he had by no means the look of a Member of Parliament. One evening this man fell foul of a speech of Grattan's, and amongst other absurdities said in his paroxysm that the right honourable gentleman's speech had a tendency to introduce the guillotine into the very body of the House; indeed, he almost thought he could perceive it before him. ('Hear him! hear him!' echoed from Sir Boyle Roche.) Grattan good-humouredly replied that the honourable member must have a vastly sharper sight than he had. He certainly could see no such thing. 'But though,' added Grattan, looking with his glass toward Egan, 'I may not see the guillotine, yet methinks I can perceive the executioner.' 'Order, order!' shouted Sir Boyle Roche, but a general laugh prevented any further observation."—BARRINGTON: "Personal Recollections of his Own Times."

I felt that conviction forbids me as a candidate. But the partiality of some friends, and particularly of Lord Avonmore, manifested in a letter to his grace the Duke of Portland in 1798, revokes the interdict pronounced by myself, and emboldens me to entrude upon your Excellency's important avocations, by soliciting your perusal of the enclosed copy of that letter, which I have his lordship's permission to make use of upon any emergency like the present. Will your Excellency be pleased to accept as my apology for such intrusion the absence of that noble lord upon circuit, who, I can venture to say, will, if resorted to, press my pretensions to a vacancy in his Court upon your Excellency, with the same warmth and from the same motives, however partial and mistaken, that he did upon his grace the Duke of Portland. Absence from this country in England, till within a short space of time, prevented my having the honour of paying my personal respects to your Excellency.

"I am, with unfeigned regret, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

"JOHN EGAN."

But Egan, the opponent of the Union, had no chance of promotion, however agreeable the simplicity with which he might appeal for it. The vacant judgeship went to the Solicitor-General, Michael Smith—one of the most effective debaters on the side of the Union in the Irish House of Commons—who had been appointed to the second Law Officership of the Crown for his services immediately after the Union was carried.

* * *

The Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary, however, were desirous of conciliating the most conspicuous and able opponents of the Union. There was Sir John Parnell, for instance, who had been dismissed from office as Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer on account of his opposition to the measure, and who now represented Queen's County in the Imperial Parliament. In June, 1801, Abbot, the Chief Secretary, writes to Hardwicke:

"Mr. Addington has again upon this occasion expressed his wish that Sir John Parnell may obtain some considerable situation in the Irish Government."

Again he writes:

"Sir John Parnell left London last night upon his way to Ireland, where he will most probably pay his respects to your Excellency, and we hope you will give him a reception that shall mark our friendly disposition towards him, for he is an honest fellow, and may be a valuable Parliament coadjutor."

Then there was John Foster, the last Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. He employed all his influence against the Union, and while the House was in Committee on the Bill delivered a powerful speech in opposition to the measure. Abbot, writing to Hardwicke, on June 29, 1801, says:

"I have just come to town from Lord Alvanley's, where I slept last night. Pitt and Dundas were there also. Pitt agrees to the propriety of cultivating Foster, and advises to let him understand 'he is not to govern Ireland,' but that his assistance in promoting its internal improvements and local interests should be cordially accepted, and that he should be allowed to feel that he had considerable power in forwarding the execution of all beneficial measures of that description."

In December, 1801, John Beresford—a powerful member of the Irish oligarchy, whom we shall meet again in a subsequent chapter—resigned his office as head of the Revenue Department. His salary was £2,000 a year, including an extra £1,000 as First Commissioner of the Board. Hardwicke, writing to Pelham, said that, of course, the vacancy would be used to "liquidate a Union engagement," but suggested that the extra £1,000 a year should be applied to the creation of a tenth Commissioner, and the new post given to Colonel Foster—son of John Foster—who had had a seat on the Revenue Board, of which he was deprived for his opposition to the Union.

"As this is a point," continues Hardwicke, "so nearly connected with the interests and possible wishes of a person who has borne so distinguished a part in the politics of this country as Mr. Foster, the late Speaker, I have thought it my duty to suggest it for the consideration of your Lordship, as his power of mischief is immense."

The Home Secretary promptly replied:

"The appointment of Colonel Foster would postpone the completion of those Union engagements which, in my judgment, ought to be satisfied before any other be thought of."

Hardwicke, a sensitive man, felt very keenly this official reprimand. He wrote to Addington, the Prime Minister, petulantly complaining of the tone of Pelham's letter. No one, he protested, could be more "exactly scrupulous" than he was to hasten the complete redemption of the Union engagements, and he points out that if John Foster, who represented Louth in the Imperial Parliament, was not conciliated he might become an opponent of the Administration. He continues:

"It was natural to suppose that Mr. Foster, who had long been accustomed to take a lead in Irish affairs, and whose opinions carry with them a certain degree of weight in this country, might sometimes take occasion to object to measures in a manner which, though not directly hostile, might be rather inconvenient to the course of your business in the House of Commons, and even invite opposition. On this ground it occurred to me that you would not dislike to show a disposition to conciliation by offering to restore his son to an office which he had lost by the Union, and if it could be done, as I thought and am confident it might, without violating a single engagement."

* * *

One of the most curious of the Union engagements was that of Lord Blaquiere. The son of a French merchant settled in London, Colonel John Blaquiere went to Ireland as Chief Secretary to Lord Harcourt, Viceroy in 1772.*

* "Sir John Blaquiere was a little deaf of one ear, for which circumstance he gave a very singular reason. His seat, when Secretary, was the outside one on the Treasury Bench, next to the gangway, and he said that so many members used to come perpetually to whisper to him, and the buzz of importunity was so heavy and continuous, that before one claimant's words had got out of his ear the demand of another forced its way in, till the ear-drum, being overcharged, absolutely burst, which, he said, turned out conveniently enough, as he was then obliged to stuff the organ tight, and tell every gentleman that his physician had directed him not to use *that* ear at all, and *the other* as little as possible!"—BARRINGTON: "Personal Recollections of his Own Times."

When he ceased to be Chief Secretary he remained in Ireland, and, continuing to sit in the Irish House of Commons, gathered to himself many valuable sinecures. He was bailiff of the Phœnix Park; he was alnager of Ireland, an alnager being an officer formerly appointed to inspect woollen cloth; he was Commissioner of the Paving Board. Blaquiere was a conspicuous supporter of the Union. His house was twice wrecked on that account by the Dublin populace. But, as may be imagined, this remarkable pluralist had made an excellent bargain for his services. He had his sinecures commuted for £3,200 per annum for life. He secured—as will be seen from the List of Union Engagements—a pension of £1,000 for the lives of his wife and daughter. He obtained an Irish Peerage. He also asked to be appointed one of the representative peers to sit in the House of Lords, but was induced to waive the claim in favour of some less accommodating suitor, on the condition, also set out in the List of Union Engagements, that he was to be returned to Parliament—Irish peers having the right under the Union to sit in the House of Commons for British constituencies—at the first General Election, or else that his son was to be given a position under the Board of Works at £400 per annum.

Writing to Hardwicke from London, November 17, 1801, Lord Blaquiere says on the subject of his engagements:

"The immediate point is this—by the stipulation made with me a prominent feature is a seat in the Imperial Commons to compensate for my relinquishing the seat for life engaged to me in the Lords. The Irish Government being, however, aware of the difficulties that might arise, put this alternative into the contract, that if they should find it impossible to give me a seat, the man I should name was to have a seat at the Board of Works.

"Statements, how founded I know not—nay, I do not believe them—talk of an immediate dissolution of Parliament. For thirty long years I have been—whether useful or not becomes not me to say—a member. No

fish out of water can be more uncomfortable than I shall feel if I am to be put upon the shelf. I wish much to know, and humbly entreat of your kindness to let me know, what it is that I am to expect from the Government—whether the seat or the office, that I may arrange myself accordingly; but if, my dear Lord, I may be allowed to express a wish, that wish unquestionably is for the seat."

The Lord Lieutenant, in reply, says that, as Blaquiere could only be returned for a seat in Great Britain, the performance of that engagement was not so much in the power of the Irish Government as the alternative appointment of his son to the Board of Works. However, his Excellency promised to communicate with Whitehall on the subject. Then came another letter from Blaquiere.

"The fact is this," says he, "that if your Excellency shall be pleased to give me the nomination to a seat in Ireland, I believe I would find no difficulty in getting it exchanged for a seat in this country, some friends of yours and mine, my dear Lord, having already offered to do it, provided you give them sufficient notice."

Accordingly, Lord Blaquiere secured the last of many valuable rewards in return for his services to the Union, by being elected member for Rye in the General Election of June, 1802, the first under the United Parliament.*

* "Nobody ever understood eating and drinking better than Sir John de Blaquiere, and no man ever was better seconded in the former respect than he was by his cook, Mrs. Smith, whom he brought from Paris. His company seldom exceeded ten in number, but so happily was it selected that I never yet saw a person rise from his table who did not feel gratified. Sir John was one of the old school, and with all the playful good breeding with which it was distinguished, he had nothing of that starch pride which, in more recent times, has supplanted conviviality without making men either wiser, better, or happier" (Barrington: "Personal Recollections of his Own Times"). Barrington defends De Blaquiere, the noted pluralist: "If his money came from the public purse," he says, "it was distributed to the public benefit; if he received pensions from the Crown, butchers, bakers, and other tradesmen pocketed every shilling of it. He knew employment to be the best species of charity. In short, Sir John de Blaquiere was as much abused and as much regarded as any public character of any period."

CHAPTER V

THE PRIMATE OBJECTS TO PROFLIGATE BISHOPS

"How I love to kick those whom my duty obliges me to court!" This is the exclamation of indignation and disgust to which Lord Cornwallis gives expression in a letter to his friend General Ross during the negotiations with the Lords and Commons of Ireland for the purchase of the Irish Parliament. Cornwallis, we are told, was an honest, bluff, hearty, straightforward English soldier and statesman. But is it not curious that the immorality of his own part in the transaction appears never to have struck him? The bribed, no doubt, deserved to be kicked, but ought the bribers to have escaped the boot? Surely the ignominious punishment should have been impartially distributed. However, Cornwallis seems also to have derived from the negotiations a share of sly, cynical amusement. Here is a delightful extract from one of his letters to the Duke of Portland:

"It was privately intimated to me that the sentiments of the Archbishop of Cashel were less friendly to the Union than they had been, on which I took an opportunity of conversing with his Grace on the subject, and after discussing some preliminary topics respecting the representation of the Spiritual Lords, and the probable vacancy of the see of Dublin, he declared his great unwillingness at all times to oppose the measures of the Government, and especially on a point in which his Majesty's feelings were so much interested, to whom he professed the highest sense of gratitude, and concluded by a cordial declaration of friendship."

Dr. Charles Agar, thus shamelessly bribed, voted for the Union, and he soon got his reward. Here is a letter from him, dated "Cashel, 26th October, 1801," to Hardwicke, stating that he had heard from Abbot, the Chief Secretary, that his Excellency had done him the honour of interesting himself in forwarding his promotion to the see of Dublin, vacant by the death of Dr. Fowler:

"I cannot, therefore, avoid troubling your Excellency with an acknowledgment of my obligations for this most kind mark of your favour," he says, "which I hope to prove by my conduct has not been conferred on one who is capable of forgetting how much he is indebted to your Excellency on this occasion."

Hardwicke replies:

"I assure your Grace I shall have great pleasure in being instrumental in fulfilling the engagement of the late Government in this particular instance."*

* * *

The death of Dr. Fowler, Archbishop of Dublin, in October, 1801, led to the satisfaction of several of the claims in the "Ecclesiastical" section of the Union engagements. On October 2, 1801, Hardwicke wrote to Pelham a private and confidential letter setting out certain

* "Dr. Agar was made a Viscount in 1800, Archbishop of Dublin in 1801, and Earl of Normanton a few years later. He tried very hard to obtain the Primacy of Ireland, but the Government refused to relax their rule that no Irishman should hold the place. However, Lord Cornwallis writes: 'His Grace had my promise when we came to an agreement respecting the Union that he should have a seat in the House of Lords for life' ('Cornwallis Correspondence,' ii., pp. 160-209). Archbishop Agar was also remarkable for the zeal with which he advocated sanguinary measures of repression during the Rebellion of 1798 (Grattan's 'Life,' vol. iv., p. 390), for the large fortune which he made by letting the Church lands on terms beneficial to his own family ('Castlereagh Correspondence,' vol. ii., p. 71), and for having allowed the fine old church at Cashel to fall into ruins, and built in its place a cathedral in the most modern taste, which he ordered to be represented on his tomb (Stanley's 'Westminster Abbey,' p. 324). There is an extremely eulogistic inscription to his memory in Westminster Abbey, and a fine bas-relief representing the angels bearing the mitre to the saintly prelate."—LECKY: "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland," 1871).

arrangements for which he asked the Home Secretary's approval before he took official action. Dr. Agar, the Archbishop of Cashel, was to go to Dublin, and Dr. Charles Brodrick, the Bishop of Kilmore, to Cashel. The bishopric of Kilmore, thus vacated, his Excellency says, would, of course, be conferred upon the Rev. Nathaniel Alexander, Precentor of Armagh, who had the first engagement for the Episcopal Bench.

"I shall take no steps upon this subject till I hear from your Lordship," he adds, in accordance with the arrangement that every proposed exercise of patronage by the Lord Lieutenant must first receive the sanction of the Home Office, "and shall be obliged to you, therefore, if you will take an early opportunity of laying the proposed arrangement for these ecclesiastical promotions before his Majesty, that I may be authorized to write to you officially upon the subjects." He adds: "The second engagement for the Bench is Dr. Trench; and if circumstances should permit of it, I shall be glad to have his Majesty's authority for giving an assurance to the Bishop of Killaloe of a promotion to the see of Derry, in which, I understand, there is a near prospect of a vacancy."

Pelham, writing in reply on October 27, says that the King was graciously pleased to express his approbation of the arrangements proposed by the Lord Lieutenant.

"I must, however," says the Home Secretary, "mention to your Excellency his Majesty's observation on the proposed assurance to the Bishop of Killaloe: 'He is no friend to embarrassing his Government with promises of what is not vacant.' At the same time his Majesty speaks in very handsome terms of the Bishop of Killaloe."

But before Dr. Alexander was appointed officially to the vacant bishopric of Kilmore there came to the Lord Lieutenant a letter from John Beresford, asking that his son, George de la Poer Beresford, Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, might be translated to the richer diocese of Kilmore. John Beresford—a member of the Waterford family—was a very important and powerful

personage. "The King of Ireland" he was called, such was his sway and authority, and all the weight of his influence had been cast on the side of the Union. He filled the lucrative post of First Commissioner of Revenue, and now sat in the Imperial Parliament for Waterford, the same constituency which he had represented in the Irish House of Commons. Hardwicke wrote again to Pelham, recommending that John Beresford's wish should be gratified. He pointed out that Dr. Alexander had received a promise simply that he should be raised to the Episcopal Bench, but had no reason to expect one bishopric more than another. The Home Secretary agreed. In fact, he thought that Bishop Beresford, having regard to the immense political influence of his father, ought to have been promoted to the higher dignity of the archbishopric of Cashel.

* * *

Now comes on the scene, with most unpleasant and awkward consequences to the Government, the Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, William Stuart, fifth son of the third Earl of Bute. The archbishopric of Armagh fell vacant during the contest on the question of the Union, and Cornwallis endeavoured to have it filled by one of the Irish bishops who supported the Government.

"It would have a very bad effect at this time to send a stranger to supersede the whole bench of Bishops," he wrote, "and I should likewise be much embarrassed by the stop that would be put to the succession amongst the Irish clergy at this critical period, when I am beyond measure pressed for ecclesiastical preferment."

But the King, with his ingrained prejudice against the Irish—even the loyalist colonial Irish—refused to depart from his long-settled policy of appointing an English ecclesiastic to the first position in the Irish branch of the Established Church; and accordingly, in December, 1800, Dr. Stuart was promoted from the see of St. David's, Wales, to the archbishopric of Armagh and the Primacy of All Ireland. In the account of Dr. Stuart in the

"Dictionary of National Biography" there is a sentence, well worth quotation, in view of the most interesting correspondence between him and the Prime Minister and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland which I find in the Viceroy's Post-bag.

"On the 10th April, 1783," says the "Dictionary," "he was introduced to Johnson by his countryman, Boswell, who describes him as 'being, with the advantages of high birth, learning, travel, and elegant manners, an exemplary parish priest in every respect,' which certificate as to his highly respectable accomplishments and character indicates a common type of ecclesiastic, and nothing more; and as to his individuality nothing further is known than the dates of his promotions."

The individuality of Dr. Stuart becomes quite vivid after a perusal of his correspondence.

The Primate, chief though he was of the Protestant Church in Ireland, had no voice in the appointments of bishops. The vacant see of Kilmore was in his own province of Armagh, yet he was not consulted as to the ecclesiastic most worthy to fill it. Abbot, the Chief Secretary, wrote to him simply that it was the intention of the Ministers to appoint Dr. Alexander, Precentor of Armagh, to the diocese. That, it will be remembered, was the first intention of the Government, until they yielded to the appeals of their influential supporter, John Beresford, on behalf of his son. Dr. Beresford had had a living for years in Kilmore, and his reputation as a pastor did not smell sweet in the diocese. The Primate accordingly wrote the following most indignant letter to Addington, the Prime Minister, protesting against Beresford's translation to Kilmore:

"ARMAGH,
"*November* 27, 1801.

"SIR,

"It is with great reluctance that I trouble you even with a few lines, but a report prevails in this country that you have promised to recommend Mr. Beresford to his Majesty to succeed the Bishop of Kilmore; and as I firmly believe no measure can be more decidedly fatal

to the Established Church, I trust you will excuse the liberty I now take of expressing the grounds of that opinion.

"Mr. Beresford is reported to be one of the most profligate men in Europe. His language and his manners have given universal offence. Indeed, such is his character that were His Majesty's Ministers to give him a living in my diocese to hold *in commendam*, I should be wanting in my duty if I did not refuse him institution.

"But, perhaps, it may be said that Mr. Beresford, being a bishop, it matters little whether he has two or four thousand per annum, or in what part of Ireland he is placed. This last circumstance is, however, of the utmost importance. In the North, which is well known to be the Protestant part of Ireland, and where, therefore, if it be meant to preserve the Protestant interest, most care should be taken to place the government of the Church in proper hands, I have six bishops under me. Three are men of tolerable moral character, but are inactive and useless, and two are of acknowledged bad character. Fix Mr. Beresford at Kilmore, and we shall then have three very inactive bishops, and, what I trust the world has not yet seen, three bishops in one district reported to be the most profligate men in Europe.* Is it possible to believe that such an arrangement will not expose the Church Establishment to much real danger? Can any method be devised more effectually to ruin us, even in the opinion of our own people? Profligate bishops never fail to produce a profligate clergy; they ordain the refuse of society, and give the most important cures to the most worthless individuals.

"Even if every tale told to the discredit of Mr. Beresford were false, it would scarcely mend the matter, as most undoubtedly his reputation is bad, and these tales

* This statement recalls what Dean Swift wrote of the bishops who were sent over from England by the Government to rule the Irish dioceses in the eighteenth century. "Excellent and moral men had been selected," he wrote, "upon every occasion of vacancy; but it unfortunately happened that, as these worthy divines crossed Hounslow Heath on their way to Ireland to take possession of their bishoprics, they have been regularly robbed and murdered by the highwaymen frequenting that common, who seize upon their robes and patents, come over to Ireland, and are consecrated bishops in their stead." It would seem, however, as if Dr. Stuart at least had passed safely across Hounslow Heath on his way to Armagh.

are universally credited. As I have reason to believe this measure is determined, I well know that my opinion can have little weight. I should not have troubled you upon the present occasion if the situation I hold did not in some degree render it necessary.

"I have the honour to be, with great respect,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"WM. ARMAGH."

It will be noticed that the Primate's letter is dated November 27, 1801. It was not until December 19, 1801, that the Prime Minister was moved to take action upon it. Writing from Downing Street on that day to the Lord Lieutenant, he says:

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I am quite ashamed to have so long delayed the communication of the inclosed letter from the Primate. It is, of course, in strict confidence that I now transmit it to your Lordship. I should have great pleasure in hearing that the information contained in his Grace's letter had originated in misrepresentation, or, at least, in exaggerated accounts that had reached him of the disposition and conduct of the person to whom he refers. It has, however, been thought right to suspend the recommendation to his Majesty till we hear again from your Lordship; though it is wished that the letter I am now writing and your answer may be considered as private communications."

The reply of the Lord Lieutenant to the Prime Minister, dated "Phœnix Park, December 22nd, 1801," and marked "Private," says:

"If his Grace's representation had been made at the time the measure was only in contemplation and before any steps had been actually taken with a view to the respective promotions of Bishop Beresford and Dr. Alexander, I have no hesitation to say that it would have been entitled to every degree of weight. At the same time, I think it but just to observe that no information unfavourable to the character of the Bishop of Clonfert has reached me since his promotion to the Bench. If there were any circumstances of conduct or character sufficiently strong to make his translation improper with a view to

the interests of the Church of Ireland, they ought to have operated in a greater degree against his original promotion, because it does not appear to me at all material to the credit of the Church, whether he is Bishop of Clonfert or Kilmore; more especially as I do not understand that since his original promotion his character has been such as ought in justice to preclude his translation. Besides which, it strikes me forcibly that the putting him back from a translation which had been already settled would be fixing a stigma that would not only be highly injurious to a man who may fairly be stated to be in the way of redeeming his character, but would greatly reflect upon the character of the Government which originally raised him to the Bench."

* * *

Then comes a letter from Charles Abbot, the Chief Secretary, to the Primate, dated "Phœnix Park, Dec. 23rd, 1801," and marked "Private and Confidential":

"MY DEAR LORD,

"The mail which arrived last night from England brought a private and confidential letter, dated the 19th, from Mr. Addington to Lord Hardwicke, inclosing one from your Grace to Mr. Addington, dated 27th of November, respecting the bishoprick of Kilmore; and persuaded as I am that your Grace has a full confidence in the sincere desire of Lord Hardwicke's Administration in Ireland to promote the great interests of the Established Church, and to give the fullest weight to your Grace's opinions upon every subject connected with those interests, I cannot but regret most deeply that your Grace did not at the time of writing to Mr. Addington write also to his Excellency upon the same subject, as all recommendations and appointments to offices in Ireland, whether of Church or State, by his Majesty's gracious permission, pass invariably through the Lord Lieutenant; and had your Grace's representations upon this particular occasion reached his Excellency at an earlier period, they would, I doubt not, have been received with all the consideration and respect to which they are at all times so strongly entitled.

"I am not unaware that your Grace may possibly think me in some degree to blame in the business; and I assure you it gives me very unaffected concern that you

should entertain that sentiment even for a moment. Having by his Excellency's permission apprized your Grace of the intended Church arrangement upon the Archbishop of Dublin's death, so far as I then knew its probable course, you might very possibly have expected to hear again of any further incident as it arose. To this charge I should not be altogether without excuse, if I alledged the constant pressure of a multiplicity of important business; but I would not willingly rest it upon that ground, not only because I fully admit that none can be more important than what regards the state of the Church of Ireland, at this time more especially, but because other reasons also weighed in my mind, whether justly or unjustly is for your Grace's determination.

"The kind and flattering confidence with which your Grace had conversed with me upon many things and persons materially connected with Church affairs in this country had given me the opportunity of knowing that your Grace held the Bishops of Killaloe and Kilmore in high estimation as the most exemplary characters upon the Bench; and with respect to all others, whether in possession or expectancy, I had been led to suppose that your Grace felt no particular preference or distinction. Now I assure your Grace that so much did your selection of characters weigh in the mind of his Excellency, that upon the sole strength of your testimony, and without the smallest intimation whatever from any quarter in or out of Ireland, his Excellency, knowing that Bishop Knox had a different object in view, recommended in the strongest terms that Bishop Brodrick might be raised to the archbishoprick of Cashel, and your Grace's testimony to his merits was relied upon by Lord Hardwicke in his letter to Lord Pelham as the most conclusive reason which could possibly be assigned in his behalf.

"The expectation held out to Mr. Alexander being, in general, a succession to any vacant bishoprick, it was at that time conceived that his promotion to the then only vacant bishoprick (Kilmore) was of course; but pending the progress of this arrangement, and before the opening in Kilmore was made, a very powerful solicitation was sent in behalf of Bishop Beresford, and as it appeared to his Excellency that Bishop Beresford being already on the Bench a mere translation from one see to another was simply a question of emolument and con-

venience to the individual, and that in any event both Bishop Beresford and Mr. Alexander would have episcopal rank, it was not a case in which resistance to such a solicitation was of any moment, it being always recollected that the expectation given by Lord Cornwallis to Mr. Alexander was not of any particular see, but of such as might be vacant. The consequence has been that his Excellency has not felt himself warranted in recommending that any alteration should now be made, and he is even precluded from it by the progress already made in the business.

"My own anxious desire to stand well in your Grace's opinion has induced me to trouble you at this length, because I feel most truly that any circumstance of any sort, however imperfectly understood, which should abate of your Grace's confidence in a Government sincerely desirous of co-operating with your efforts in maintaining, and (perhaps it might not be untruly said) in settling the Church of Ireland on its best foundations, would be a publick misfortune. For, as your Grace well knows, it is not in your own province alone that the effect of your authority and example is to be looked for, but we have trusted that its beneficial effects will produce infinite good throughout the country, and in no concerns more than those which, as I understand from the most respectable quarters, require your Grace's presence and interposition in Dublin, where the great charitable institutions of the country are managed.

"May I hope that what has now occurred may, upon the whole, enable us to prevent the recurrence of any similar inconvenience, and that your Grace will not hesitate to impart to his Excellency, or those in his Government with whom you may have occasional intercourse, your sentiments upon all matters instantly and unreservedly, where you wish them to be considered, as they ever will be with the greatest deference and goodwill.

"Pardon me, my Lord, if upon some points not unconnected with this subject, and of very great moment to this country, and which for very many reasons I cannot well commit to writing, I express a very earnest hope that I may have an opportunity of speaking with your Grace before I go to England, which I shall probably do immediately after the present recess. I cannot well be spared from hence at this time; but if you have any

intention of coming next month to Dublin, I shall be glad if what I have intimated may have the effect of accelerating your journey and bringing you to Dublin by the middle of next month, before which time I do not expect to be called over."

* * *

The Primate sent to Abbot, in reply, a long letter, and a very interesting and most important letter. It is dated "Armagh, December 27, 1801":

"DEAR SIR,

"Your letter dated Wednesday night, I did not receive till Friday night, and there being no post on Saturday it was impossible for me to answer it before this morning. Nothing would give me more real uneasiness than to be thought capable of acting with impropriety towards Lord Hardwicke. He is certainly entitled to more than common respect. I beg therefore to be believed when I assert that I had no intention of making a foolish appeal to the English Government against any measure his Excellency may please to adopt. I well know that recommendations and appointments to offices in Ireland pass through the Lord Lieutenant; but it sometimes happens that the English Minister influences such appointments, and there were circumstances which induced me to suspect that Mr. Addington had interfered in the present instance."

His Grace then goes on to remind the Chief Secretary of his first communication, telling him that Mr. Alexander had been promoted to Kilmore, and says it led him to believe that Beresford had been appointed by the Prime Minister over the head of the Lord Lieutenant. After he had received this letter from the Chief Secretary several persons told him that Dr. Beresford was really the selection of the Ministers for the see. "But," he says, "being well acquainted with the practice of Irish gentlemen to claim friendships with those with whom they are scarcely acquainted, to detail conversations that were never spoken, and to affect being entrusted with secrets that do not exist, I gave no credit to their representations." However, two letters that came to him from London dissipated all doubt on the point. One was from

a friend who had heard John Beresford boast that Addington had given Kilmore to his son. "The other letter," says the Primate, "was from an English prelate of the highest rank, and the most powerful influence in his profession, who informed me that I was universally blamed for not endeavouring to avert such a calamity from the Church by writing to his Majesty. Believing the arrangements to be finally settled, I was unwilling to give the King the uneasiness which, I think, a letter from me on such a subject would have given him. But I thought proper to write to Mr. Addington, whom I considered as the author of the arrangement." He had been "blinded" by Abbot's communication announcing the promotion of Dr. Alexander. If he had had the slightest suspicion that it was really intended to give the see to Dr. Beresford he would have written at once in expostulation to the Lord Lieutenant. "Have written to him!" he exclaims. "Though I will not trouble him with those solicitations which my predecessor almost daily carried to the Castle, I would have fallen on my knees to Lord Hardwicke. I would have surrendered my own private patronage, the very situation I hold, if by these means I could have averted a measure which I firmly believe will bring disgrace and ruin upon us all."

His Grace proceeds in the same bitter strain:

"I am heartily sorry to find from your letter that my solicitation is not sufficiently powerful to overbear the just claims of the Church in a point which concerns its very existence. You cannot be serious when you write that a translation from one see to another is simply a question of emolument. It is not so in any country, and in Ireland less than any other. You mention my example, but the example of the Lord Lieutenant is of still more importance. What will happen if the bishops of Ireland follow this example, and adopt this language—promote the most worthless clergymen, because when a man holds a living a bad character is not to impede his preferment, as a removal from one parish to another is simply a question of emolument?

"Indeed, my dear sir, I deplore this measure as a most heavy misfortune. Nothing can have a more direct tendency to ruin the Establishment. Had the Roman Catholics gained their point we might by a prudent conduct have averted any immediate ill effects. But how are we to avert the consequences of our own bad character?

"This is the first unfettered act of the present Administration. All other Church preferment has been given in conformity to the promises of Lord Cornwallis, or with a view to please him. But His Majesty's Ministers were free to fill Kilmore as they thought proper.* You inform me they have placed Dr. Beresford in that situation. Such a bad character will confessedly prove of great detriment; and since having been dean his character, his conduct, and his language are well known, and held in universal detestation, by this is proclaimed that though a man be ever so vitious and corrupt, he may, if he joins some one faction in this kingdom, be placed in the highest ecclesiastical situation—for where can the man be found whose character is not as good as Dr. Beresford's, and who, therefore, if he be supported by the same interest, may not form the same pretensions?

"By this measure, too, we are deprived of the advantage promised to us by the Union. In truth, the two Churches cannot be considered as united, unless they are governed by the same principle. A bad moral character would in England be an insuperable obstacle to the promotion of a bishop—an obstacle which neither rank, nor wealth, nor Parliamentary interest can enable a man to surmount."

"The promotion of Mr. Beresford is, in my opinion, decisive as to the fate of the Church," the Primate continues. "It cannot, therefore, be supposed that I shall warmly concur with Ministers who have adopted measures that have a manifest tendency to subvert the Establishment to which I belong, and the religion which I profess. I am, however, so far from wishing to give Lord Hardwicke any trouble that I sincerely wish to retire, and entertain hope that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to allow me to resign a situation which he compelled me to

* The Primate, of course, was in error on this point.

assume, and which I can no longer hold with advantage to the country, or honour to myself. If his Majesty should reject this request, I shall confine my attention solely to the business of this diocese. With the province I can have little concern. It would be absurd to inspect the conduct of such a man as Beresford, for the same interest which places him at Kilmore will most assuredly be exerted to protect him."

* * *

On December 28, 1801, the Lord Lieutenant wrote the following "private and confidential" letter to the Prime Minister:

"MY DEAR SIR,

"The concern which I feel at the manner in which the Primate has expressed himself upon the subject of Bishop Beresford's translation to Kilmore makes me very desirous that you should be in possession of the whole transaction, and consequently obliges me, though very unwillingly, to trouble you with a few short extracts of letters which passed upon that subject. I cannot, however, in justice to myself, omit, in the first place, to observe that from the moment of my appointment to the Government of Ireland I have felt a very anxious and unaffected desire to be upon the best possible footing with the Primate. In addition to a firm conviction of his strict honour and integrity, and of his zeal for the interests of the Church, I was not unacquainted with the opinion which his Majesty entertained of his character and principles, and had really nothing more anxious at heart than to co-operate to the best of my abilities in the station I have the honour to hold with the exertions which his Grace would be desirous to make for the interest and advantage of the Church, which appeared by all the accounts I have heard to stand so much in need of his vigilant and honourable superintendence.

"The transaction of which his Grace complains admits of a short and simple explanation. The episcopal arrangements consequent on the death of the Archbishop of Dublin were principally settled by Lord Cornwallis's engagement to promote the Archbishop of Cashel to Dublin, and to raise Mr. Alexander to the Bench. In my first letter to Lord Pelham I proposed to offer the arch-

bishoprick of Cashel to the Archbishop of Tuam, and the vacant archbishoprick to the Bishop of Kilmore. Beyond this, I had proposed no translations whatever, and if Mr. Alexander had come up to Dublin from Armagh to forward the completion of his engagement—which was delayed, first, by our not being acquainted with his christian name, and description, and, secondly, by his not being in possession of a Doctor's degree—his promotion to Kilmore would have been so far settled as to have made it impossible to have complied with Mr. Beresford's application for his son's translation, which was conveyed to me in a letter I received on the 4th of November.

" At this period, if it was proper to entertain Mr. Beresford's application at all, no time was to be lost in transmitting it regularly to England; and you will perceive that I did little more than take the earliest opportunity of forwarding the letter, because I did not know what expectation might have been given to Mr. Alexander of succeeding to Kilmore, for which at that time (viz., a fortnight after my first letter recommending the different engagements) no other person had been proposed. I, therefore, contented myself with simply stating the fact that the engagement to Mr. Alexander was for the Bench in general, and not for a particular bishoprick, and that upon that ground no objection could arise to a compliance with Mr. Beresford's application.

" I naturally conceived that it would not be disagreeable to yourself and the Administration in general, to oblige an old servant of the Crown, and I had reason to believe that his Majesty himself entertained a good opinion of Mr. Beresford. Had I been apprised of the Primate's strong objections to Bishop Beresford's character, of the grounds of which I am still ignorant, I should, certainly, have made no sort of representation on the subject; but as circumstances stood at the time Mr. Beresford's letter reached me there was no time for learning his Grace's sentiments, and as he had been promoted to the Bench subsequent to his Grace's advancement to the Primacy, it did not occur to me that his Grace could entertain objections to his translation so strong as those he has expressed in his letter of the 27th inst. to Mr. Abbot, and which, I have no doubt, he sincerely feels.

" I trust, however, when his Grace finds no disrespect whatever was intended towards himself, nor (what I am

sure he will consider of superior importance) any intentional disregard of the interests of the Church, that he will not think himself called upon to abandon the duties of his high station, in which he may be so eminently useful, on account of the translation of a person to whose original promotion he did not feel the same forcible objections."

To the Primate the Lord Lieutenant sent the following communication :

"PHŒNIX PARK,
"*Dec. 29th*, 1801.

"MY LORD,

"If I had had the good fortune to be better known to your Grace, you would not have suspected me of any unwillingness to co-operate to the best of my abilities with your zealous and honourable exertions for the advantage of the Church over which you preside ; and I am confident that every branch of His Majesty's Government is impressed with the same opinion of your Grace's anxiety to fulfil the objects of your high station in this country. For those reasons I am very desirous that your Grace should be put in possession of all that has passed on the subject of a transaction which I am concerned to learn has made a strong impression on your mind ; and for this reason I have requested my brother-in-law and private secretary, Dr. Lindsay, to wait upon your Grace, in order that he may have an opportunity of communicating to you all that has passed in reference to the proposed translation of the Bishop of Clonfert to the see of Kilmore. Dr. Lindsay will set out to-morrow, and if he cannot reach Armagh before a late hour in the evening, will have the honour of waiting on your Grace on Thursday morning.

"I cannot conclude without assuring your Grace that I am very sensible of the polite expressions you make use of in regard to myself in your letter to Mr. Abbot, and of what you are so good as to say in regard to your having written to Mr. Addington.

"I remain, my Lord, with great truth and respect, your Grace's most obedient and faithful servant,

"HARDWICKE."

But in a "private and confidential" letter to the Prime Minister, written also on December 29, the Lord Lieu-

tenant, in announcing that he had sent his private secretary to interview the Primate, is not so complimentary with reference to his Grace's "zealous and honourable exertions" in behalf of the interests of the Established Church in Ireland. "I am more than ever convinced," says his Excellency, "that a sincere desire to do the utmost practical good that circumstances will admit is a more useful quality in the administration of publick affairs, of whatever description, than that furious though honest zeal which disclaims everything short of theoretical perfection, and abates entirely if disappointed in any single instance." In other words, the Primate, in the opinion of the Lord Lieutenant, was "a crank." His Excellency continues: "I am sure I need not add that if any statement of this affair should be laid before the King, I shall conform cheerfully upon this as upon all other occasions to his Majesty's commands; and it appears to me that after what has passed nothing short of such an authority can properly stop the course of this ecclesiastical arrangement, which I am truly sorry has been brought into question, and occasioned you so much trouble."

The next letter is from the Prime Minister to the Lord Lieutenant:

"*Private and Confidential.*

"DOWNING STREET,
"*Jan. 2nd*, 1802.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I most entirely concur in all the sentiments you have expressed on the circumstances which have occurred respecting the proposed recommendation of Dr. Beresford to the bishoprick of Kilmore; and it appears to me that a more proper step could not have been taken than that of sending to the Primate a person so high in your Lordship's confidence as Dr. Lindsay.

"It is my intention to wait for your next communication, and then to lay the whole matter in person before the King, to whom I shall think myself bound to acknowledge that but for an accidental delay an intimation, through Lord Pelham, of my wishes in favour of Dr. Beresford

would have been transmitted to Ireland, previous to the arrival of your Lordship's dispatch of the 4th of November. I must, however, be strangely ignorant of his Majesty's sentiments if it can be necessary for me to trespass long upon his condescension and patience, in endeavouring to convince him that no disrespect to the Primate was or could be intended by your Lordship or myself; or that we are either of us less deeply impressed than his Grace with a sense of what is due to the purity of the Church Establishment, and above all, to the interests of religion.

"It is to me, I fairly acknowledge, a subject of regret that a communication was not made to the Primate of the intentions of Government respecting Dr. Beresford before any step was taken for carrying them into effect; and if he had not been previously upon the Bench a considerable degree of importance, and perhaps of blame, might be attached by many to the omission. But such a communication, even in such a case, though very proper, has not I believe been very usual, and the want of it in the present instance cannot, I think, be justly made a subject of that grave and most serious description of complaint which would be called for by a disregard of institutions entitled to reverence, and of individuals who from their situation and character have the strongest claims to attention and respect.

"I have written in haste and more at length than I intended. There are other points upon which I am desirous of writing to your Lordship, but they must be reserved for a future letter.

"I am ever, with true regard, my dear Lord, your most obedient and faithful servant,

"HENRY ADDINGTON."

The Primate, writing on December 31, 1801, replied in the following brief and unyielding letter to the Lord Lieutenant:

"MY LORD,

"I beg leave to assure your Excellency that I am extremely sensible of your goodness in writing as well as in giving me an opportunity of conversing with Dr. Lindsay.

"I forbear to trouble you further upon the business relating to Kilmore, as I wrote on Tuesday to Mr.

Addington, who, I trust, will now advise his Majesty to allow me to resign the Primacy; for I wrote in such a manner as will convince him that I most sincerely desire so to do. I deeply lament that any circumstance in which I am concerned should give your Excellency one moment's uneasiness."

The failure of Lindsay's mission to the Primate is thus reported by the Lord Lieutenant to the Prime Minister, in a letter dated January 5, 1802:

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am very sorry to inform you that Dr. Lindsay's visit to the Primate has not been attended with the good consequences I had hoped and expected from it, as you will see by the inclosed letter in which he refers to one which he had written to you on the Tuesday preceding. Dr. Lindsay communicated to his Grace all that had passed on the subject of Bishop Beresford's proposed translation, and had conceived from the conversation which passed a different impression from that which is conveyed by the letter.

"It is impossible to lament more than I do the step which his Grace has taken in requesting you to advise the King to allow him to resign the Primacy; but extraordinary and unprecedented as such a step would be, I think it would be, in every view, much less injurious in its consequences than his retaining the situation, and living as a private bishop in the diocese of Armagh, abandoning the care of the public charities to the boards which are supposed to have mismanaged them for so many years, and giving up that general superintendence of the Church in which he might have been so eminently useful."

* * *

Then followed a correspondence between the Primate and the Prime Minister, copies of which were forwarded by Addington to Hardwicke.

"ARMAGH,
"*Dec. 29th*, 1801.

"SIR,

"The removal of Dr. Beresford to the North of Ireland is, in my opinion, the most fatal blow the Church has ever received. To place among the Protestants a bishop of indifferent character would, in the present

moment, be a publick misfortune, but to place among them a bishop whose immoralities have rendered him infamous cannot fail to produce the most serious ill effects.

"I now find myself in a situation in which I can do no good, but in which I can do incredible mischief: a situation from which every man of honour must be anxious to extricate himself. I, therefore, beg the favour of you to lay my humble request before his Majesty that I may be permitted to resign the archbishoprick of Armagh. This measure cannot be productive of ill consequences as the example is not likely to be followed; and as I resigned the bishoprick of St. David's to obtain the Primacy it cannot be illegal to resign Armagh to retire to a private situation.

"If his Majesty is graciously pleased to grant this request, I humbly hope the change may take place early in the spring. Were I to presume to ask you a personal favour it would be to give some small provision to my chaplain, Mr. Carter, who quitted his preferment in England to accompany me to Ireland, and who, having been tutor to Prince William, I am persuaded his Royal Highness will bear testimony to his worth and merit.

"I am sure your good nature will pardon this trouble, and induce you to honour me with a few lines as soon as circumstances will admit.

"I have the honour to be with the highest esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

"W. ARMAGH."

From the Prime Minister to the Primate:

"DOWNING STREET,
"*Jan. 7th*, 1802.

"MY LORD,

"I meant to defer troubling your Grace 'till I had heard the result of Dr. Lindsay's visit to Armagh; but I feel that your letter of the 29th of December demands immediate attention.

"It is unnecessary for me to recapitulate the steps which have been taken in consequence of your Grace's first letter. The opinion I entertain of your Grace's justice is accompanied by a conviction that it is not possible for you to suppose that any of his Majesty's confidential servants who encouraged the proposed translation of Dr. Beresford to the bishoprick of Kilmore were

influenced by motives inconsistent with the highest respect for your character and station, or with feelings less earnest than those by which your Grace is known to be actuated, for the purity of the Church Establishment, and the interests of religion.

"Till I received your Grace's letter of the 27th of November, no imputation had reached me that was discreditable to Dr. Beresford. I cannot, therefore, reproach myself for having supposed that, countenanced as he was by the Irish Government, and by Lord Pelham, he was not unworthy of being removed to Kilmore. The responsibility, however, of such an arrangement could not, in any degree, attach upon your Grace. It would fall upon certain individuals belonging to the English and Irish Governments, and particularly, I acknowledge, upon myself.

"I trust, therefore, that your Grace will not persist in urging the performance of the painful task imposed upon me by your last letter; or rather that on further consideration your Grace may be disposed to remain in a situation which you could not quit without creating great uneasiness to his Majesty and real detriment to the publick. On the impediments that might arise to the accomplishment of the wish you have expressed, your Grace will be pleased to observe that I have not presumed to hazard an opinion.

"I have only to add that I shall wait with anxiety for a further communication from your Grace, and that I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

"My Lord, your Grace's most humble and obedient servant,

"HENRY ADDINGTON."

From the Primate to the Prime Minister:

"ARMAGH,
"*14th January*, 1802.

"SIR,

"Your letter of the 7th of January I had not the honour of receiving till last night. I feel and acknowledge the very handsome manner in which you are pleased to express yourself; but I beg leave to assure you that the request I ventured to propose was the result of much serious thought, and did not originate from pique, ill-humour, or party attachment. In truth I have no reason

to complain of any disrespect—from Lord Hardwicke and Mr. Abbot I have received every civility. The character of the former is far above my praise, and from the firmness, abilities, integrity and assiduity of the latter, I am well persuaded this country will derive signal advantage.

"I have been refused no favour, for I hazarded no solicitation; and I am not soured by contrariety of opinion, for, till this business, I have had no reason to differ from His Majesty's Ministers. I am utterly unacquainted with Mr. Beresford and his party, nor do I know any individual of the party whose sentiments and principles are opposite to his. I had no friend to recommend to Kilmore. I expressed no wish in favour of any person; and I can affirm upon my honour that I objected to Dr. Beresford upon publick grounds only. As emolument is the only object of this young man, whose character is indisputably infamous, it might have been procured for him in the Catholick part of Ireland where he could do little mischief; but surely it was unnecessary to remove him to the Protestant part where he can do a great deal. It is certainly true that I am not responsible for his removal, but I am unfortunately so for his conduct when he is placed in my province, and am bound by the laws and usage of this country to inspect it.

"Mr. Abbot having sent me, at the request of Lord Hardwicke, the proposed arrangements, I entertained no suspicion of any other till the 27th of November, when I took the liberty of writing to you, a liberty which I should probably have taken before had I suspected that His Majesty's Ministers meant to promote Dr. Beresford. This translation to the see of Kilmore is, in my opinion, fatal to the Church Establishment. It exposes us to ridicule and contempt; it encourages that profligacy of manners already too prevalent in Ireland, and it holds forth to the young men of this country that morals are of no estimation in the opinion of the English Minister. My understanding suggests no surer method of destroying the Church than by placing irreligious and profligate men in those situations where the people have a right to expect examples of piety and virtue.

"I will not, however, push this subject further, but beg the favour of you, if Dr. Beresford is translated to Kilmore, as your letter leads me to suppose, to lay my

humble request before his Majesty, and I most confidently rely on the wisdom and goodness of the King that he will allow me to resign a situation which I can no longer hold with advantage to the publick, or credit to myself. Before you submit the matter to his Majesty, I earnestly entreat you to consider what will be the consequence of compelling me to remain against my will, and if you do so, I am well persuaded you will advise his Majesty to permit me to retire. To tell you that I feel nothing on this occasion would be to tell you what is not true. I most deeply lament it as the greatest misfortune of my life. No man ever resigned so high a situation or abandoned a profession in which he was so honourably distinguished, without great regret; but if Dr. Beresford be translated to Kilmore I should certainly have to struggle with far greater evils, and should probably struggle in vain, for the profession itself would shortly cease to exist. I therefore adopt that part which appears to me least liable to objection, and retire from a situation in which I cannot continue without embarrassing His Majesty's Ministers."

From the Prime Minister to the Primate:

"DOWNING STREET,
"*Jan. 23rd*, 1802.

"MY LORD,

"I have been honoured with your Grace's letter, and I cannot forbear observing that you have not condescended to notice the concluding paragraph of mine of the 7th of this month. As, however, it is not possible for me to be influenced by general charges only, notwithstanding my respect for the quarter from whence they have proceeded, I think it incumbent on me to request, and, indeed, to claim from your Grace's justice some specification of the depravity which has led your Grace to pronounce that 'the character of Dr. Beresford is indisputably infamous'; and that 'if he is translated to Kilmore the profession itself would shortly cease to exist.'

"I have reason to believe that his Majesty's pleasure in consequence of the vacancy in Kilmore will not be made known till I have heard again from your Grace; and I trust you will pardon me if, till that period arrives, I abstain from laying your Grace's letters and my answers, with your correspondence with Lord Hardwicke and Mr. Abbot, before the King."

The next letter on the subject is from Addington to Hardwicke, dated January 24, 1802:

"It is in strict confidence," says the Prime Minister, "that I acquaint your Lordship of my having already apprized his Majesty of what has passed, tho' the letters have not yet been submitted for his perusal. I incline to believe that no imputation can justly attach upon Dr. Beresford, but that of gaiety and irregularity at an early period of his life. Since he was upon the Bench I understand his conduct has been irreproachable."

Acknowledging the receipt of this communication on January 28, 1802, Hardwicke writes to Addington:

"I have only now to hope that this transaction may be brought to an early, and I wish I could say satisfactory, conclusion. Being perfectly unconscious of any intentional disrespect to the Primate, or of any disregard or indifference to the interests of religion, I am very sincerely concerned at the stile and manner of his Grace's letters, and at the unprecedented step which he proposes to take on account of the translation of a person to whose promotion to the Bench he did not feel himself called upon to object with the same apprehension of its consequences; and yet it is remarkable that whatever objections could have been made to Dr. Beresford on the ground of character and conduct arose from circumstances which occurred previously to his original promotion, and consequently before I had any opportunity of being acquainted with them.

"I flatter myself that his Majesty, to whom you will now be under the necessity of stating what has passed, will be graciously pleased to put the most favourable construction upon the share I have had in this transaction, which is so fully explained in former letters that I should not be justified in trespassing longer upon your time at present."

* * *

The protests and threats of his Grace of Armagh were ignored by the Government. Dr. Beresford was translated from Clonfert to Kilmore. From John Beresford

came the following grateful letter to the Lord Lieutenant, dated London, February 22, 1802:

"MY DEAR LORD,

"Lord Pelham assured me that he would send off the King's letter for Kilmore by this night's post. I cannot suffer it to go without accompanying it with my most sincere and heartfelt thanks to your Excellency for your exceeding great kindness to me throughout a most disagreeable and unprovoked business. I am perfectly sensible of your Excellency's firm, manly, gentlemanlike, and truly friendly conduct throughout the whole; and beg that you will accept of my best thanks, and be assured that I shall ever retain the most grateful recollection of it.

"I am, my dear Lord, with great truth and respect, your faithful and much obliged humble servant,

"J. BERESFORD."

The news was conveyed to the Primate by the Lord Lieutenant in the following letter:

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*March 4th*, 1802.

"MY LORD,

"It is my duty to acquaint your Grace that in consequence of the representations you have made in regard to the removal of Bishop Beresford from the see of Clonfert to that of Kilmore, Mr. Addington has submitted the whole case to his Majesty's consideration, and that it did not appear to his Majesty, under all the circumstances, that there were sufficiently strong reasons for negativing the translation.

"I am, however, desired to assure your Grace that though this translation has been necessarily confirmed, there is every disposition on the part of the King's Ministers to consult your Grace's feelings and comfort in any subsequent arrangement which you may consider material to the interest of the Church Establishment. For myself, I can only say that as I came to this country with the most anxious desire of co-operating with your Grace to promote whatever objects you might think beneficial to the great publick interests which are more immediately under your superintendence, I agree most entirely in the sentiments which are felt by His Majesty's Ministers in England, and should be very happy to have

an opportunity of proving to you the sincerity of this declaration."

The tactful and courteous Lord Lieutenant succeeded in soothing the ruffled feelings of the Primate. "William Armagh," writing on March 11, 1802, expresses his gratitude for the Lord Lieutenant's extreme kindness.

"Whatever I may think of that translation and the manner in which it may affect the Establishment in this country," he says, "I cannot entertain a doubt of your Excellency being sincerely inclined to promote the real interests of the Church."

Dr. Stuart, accordingly, did not resign. For twenty years more he was Primate of All Ireland. On May 6, 1822, he died from accidental poisoning by an embrocation which he had taken in mistake for medicine. There is a full-length marble statue of him in Armagh Cathedral.

CHAPTER VI

THE HUNT FOR BISHOPRICS

THE Primate, as I have pointed out in a note to the last chapter, was mistaken in stating in his letter to the Chief Secretary that the Government were unfettered by the Union engagements in appointing to the bishopric of Kilmore. Dr. Alexander's promotion to the Episcopal Bench was, of course, a Union engagement. There remained on the list one other promise of a bishopric—that to the Hon. and Rev. Power le Poer Trench. This clergyman's father was Lord Kilconnel in the Irish House of Lords, and his elder brother, Richard Trench, was member for co. Galway in the Irish House of Commons. Richard Trench voted against the Union in the session of 1799, but voted for it in the session of 1800. Lord Kilconnel, who supported the measure in the House of Lords, was promoted to be Viscount Dunlo in December, 1800, and was further advanced to the Earldom of Clancarty in 1803. There was also an engagement given by Lord Cornwallis that the younger son of the family, a clergyman, should be early promoted to the Bench of Bishops.

Here is Pelham, the Home Secretary, writing to the Lord Lieutenant, July 21, 1802, acknowledging the official letter of his Excellency recommending Mr. Trench for the united bishopric of Waterford and Lismore, then vacant. The Home Secretary says he has delayed laying the letter before the King, as he had not received from the Lord Lieutenant the customary "private and con-

fidential" communication which always preceded the official letter. Of course, the Home Secretary goes on to say, somewhat sarcastically, his Excellency's recommendation was sufficient reason for thinking that Mr. Trench was a proper person to be advanced to the Bench of Bishops. Nevertheless, he should really like to know what were the claims of Mr. Trench to Waterford, one of the best of the sees.

"If," says the Home Secretary, "he is the person I presume him to be (younger brother of the member for Galway), I should suppose any bishoprick would be considered by him a very great object."

The reply of the Lord Lieutenant is not wanting in the same quiet irony:

"I am much obliged to your Lordship for saying that my recommendation of Dr. Trench is a sufficient reason for your thinking it fit that he should be advanced to the Bench; but I am sure you will do me the justice to believe that if it had been really a recommendation originating from any wish of mine, either on private or on publick grounds, of friendship or merit, instead of an engagement of the late Administration in Ireland, adopted by His Majesty's Ministers, as well as by myself, upon undertaking the Government of this country, I should not have contented myself with a mere official letter, though it appeared to be sufficient in the case of an engagement already known and recognised."

* * *

The appointment of Mr. Trench to the see of Waterford satisfied the last claim for a bishopric on the List of Union Engagements. But not until he was entirely quit of Ireland did Hardwicke cease to be tormented by conflicting claims to vacant sees for services rendered in the carrying of the Union. Here, for instance, is the Prime Minister writing to the Lord Lieutenant, January 9, 1803, stating that Lord Loftus, son and heir of the Marquis of Ely, sitting in the House of Commons for the borough of Wexford, and a Lord of the Treasury, had informed him that he had had at the time of the

Union a positive promise from the Duke of Portland, then Home Secretary, that his younger brother, the Rev. Lord Robert Tottenham Loftus, should be raised to the Bench of Bishops as soon as possible after he had reached the age of thirty, the canonical age of a bishop. Addington says he assured Lord Loftus that if a written confirmation of the statement were obtained from Portland the pretensions of the Rev. Lord Robert Tottenham Loftus would be favourably considered by the Government.

"I told his Lordship," the Prime Minister goes on, "that I would give him one proof of a good disposition towards him, which was that if his statement should be verified the only friend for whom I felt extreme anxiety with a view to preferment in the Church in Ireland should not stand in his way; but that I could not possibly say more."

The friend for whom Addington was concerned was Dr. Butson, Dean of Waterford, a college friend of his Oxford days.

"He thanked me," says the Prime Minister in conclusion, referring to Lord Loftus, "but did not appear satisfied, though he was particularly civil and even cordial in his expressions towards the Government."

Thus opens the interesting and exciting story of the hunt of the Tottenham Loftus family for a bishopric. It is an amusing tale also; but we will have to mingle indignation with our merriment, for there is much in it to shock our sense of virtue and duty, showing, as it does, the low level of the public spirit, and the character and the honour, of the men in whose hands the destiny of Ireland unhappily lay at the close of the eighteenth century. A few words, first, as to the Tottenham Loftus family. The Earl of Ely, in the Irish Peerage, was the owner of six boroughs which returned eight members to the Irish House of Commons. Consequently, it was most important to win him over to the side of the Union; and as he was determined to sell his influence dearly, it was

obtained only at an enormous price. For himself, a Marquisate in the Irish Peerage and a Baronage of the United Kingdom, carrying, of course, a seat in the House of Lords of the Imperial Parliament, and the sinecure post of Postmaster-General for Ireland. He also received the immense sum of £45,000 "compensation" for the loss of his nomination boroughs. For his eldest son, Lord Loftus, a post in the Treasury, and for his younger son, Lord Robert Tottenham Loftus, a bishopric. As the latter engagement—the only one remaining unfulfilled—was given by the Duke of Portland, Home Secretary, it did not appear in the list supplied by Cornwallis to Hardwicke.

* * *

In August, 1803, the see of Derry became vacant through the death of its bishop, that eccentric ecclesiastic, the Earl of Bristol. Dr. Knox, the Bishop of Killaloe, had an engagement, in return for his services to the Union, for a translation to a wealthier diocese, and as he was anxious to obtain Derry, the Lord Lieutenant supported his claim. But there were rumours that the Cabinet intended to set aside Knox, and appoint some other ecclesiastic to Derry over the head of the Viceroy, and Hardwicke—anxious, as usual, for the redemption of the Union engagements—thus writes, in some perturbation of mind, to his brother, Charles Yorke, now Home Secretary:

"*Private.*

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*August* 13, 1803.

"MY DEAR CHARLES,

"I am obliged to write in some haste upon a point which, though of minor importance to objects which claim our immediate attention, is, nevertheless, of some consequence to the credit and character of Government, as well as to myself personally. On the List of Union Engagements, of which I have been the faithful and disinterested executor, the name of the Bishop of Killaloe stands second, next to the Archbishop of Cashel, for a translation to Dublin. The engagement was made by Lord Cornwallis for promotion to a better see, and was

Towards the end of the year 1803 the Bishop of Raphoe lay ill. The news brought into the field a fresh claimant for a bishopric in return for services rendered to the Union. This was the Marquis of Waterford, whose father, the first Marquis, voted for the measure in the House of Lords, as his uncle, John Beresford, had supported it in the House of Commons. His youngest brother, Lord John Beresford, was rector of Termonmaguirk, in the diocese of Armagh; and the promotion of this son to the see of Raphoe was the object of his dearest solicitude. Lord Waterford further informed Hardwicke that Dean Butson—Addington's friend—was going about Waterford boasting that he had been promised the reversion of the next vacant see. Surely Lord John George Beresford would not be set aside in favour of such a man! But here is Waterford's letter to the Lord Lieutenant:

"CURRAGHMORE,
"*Dec. 23rd*, 1803.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"As a vacancy has occurred on the Bench of Bishops by the decease of the Lord Bishop of Raphoe,* I take the liberty of addressing your Excellency in behalf of my brother, Lord John Beresford, to succeed to the vacant see.

"Your Excellency was pleased, when last I had the honor of seeing you in Dublin, to express yourself in the kindest manner respecting Lord John. You were pleased to acknowledge his pretensions to hold that situation from his rank in life, his conduct as a clergyman, and particularly the claims his family has on His Majesty's Government for their unremitting and steady support. Mr. Addington, in a conversation I had the honor to have with him last winter, admitted in the strongest manner my pretensions. He said he never made reversionary engagements, and requested me not to urge what was unusual, but offered by that night's post to write to your Excellency on this subject.

* In a letter written at the same time to the Prime Minister, Lord Waterford says: "A vacancy is soon likely to occur on the Bench of Bishops by the decease of my Lord Bishop of Raphoe."

"When I reflect on that conversation I cannot bring myself to believe that Mr. Addington ever could prefer to Lord John Beresford a gentleman who has taken every pains in his power to make it a matter of public notoriety that he had a promise from Mr. Addington to succeed, on the first vacant see, to the Bench. I should hope, had Mr. Addington made such a promise, it was only of such a nature that it was to be done if favourable circumstances permitted; but as the gentleman had betrayed his secret, it now remains with Mr. Addington to say whether the gentleman has the same claims on His Majesty's Government as I have.

"Feeling myself unable to apologise for thus trespassing on your Excellency, and relying on your Lordship's friendship, I trust I shall have the pleasure to hear that my wishes, and most anxious desire, are through your kind interference accomplished.

"I beg leave to subscribe myself, my dear Lord, your Excellency's most obliged, faithful servant,

"WATERFORD.

"P.S.—Lord John Beresford's preferments in the Church are about four and twenty hundred, out of which he pays three curates. The gentleman's preferments are scarce sixteen hundred, out of which he pays three curates. The above assertion I can prove."

The Viceroy's reply to Lord Waterford is as follows:

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*Dec. 27th*, 1803.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I am sure your Lordship will have the candour to acknowledge that I could not receive your letter of the 22nd inst. without being in some respects at a loss to return so satisfactory an answer to it as I should always wish to give to any letter of your Lordship. I shall, however, endeavour to answer it precisely as I feel, and I trust you will give me credit for a fair and candid statement.

"Your Lordship is not unacquainted with the very numerous engagements on the patronage of the Government to which every claim of whatever nature has been necessarily postponed. In the disposal of the higher preferments of the Church, it is impossible that I should at any time pledge myself to particular engagements without a positive certainty that the recommendation will be

approved and sanctioned. This course has been uniformly pursued in all cases of this description; and if in any instance I can consider myself warranted in forwarding a recommendation officially, without a previous assurance that it will receive the King's sanction, it would be in the case of a person recommended by the Prime Minister himself. With every disposition, both on private and publick grounds, to promote your Lordship's wishes in the instance of Lord John Beresford, and with a conviction also from everything I have heard and know that whatever pretensions he may derive from his rank and family, and from the support which His Majesty's Government has received from his connexions, are strengthened by his character and respectability as a clergyman, I trust your Lordship will not press me to interfere with those wishes which Mr. Addington has uniformly expressed in favour of the Dean of Waterford, by declining to forward a recommendation which, it was fully understood, was to be made, upon the vacancy which may be shortly expected to occur. Though I certainly have not approved of the declarations which have been made by that gentleman in regard to a supposed promise, and think that in all such cases they had better be spared, yet this circumstance would not be considered as justifying me in withdrawing my support of a recommendation in favour of which, I am now at liberty to say, Mr. Addington has expressed his wishes in the strongest manner.

"I have now explained to your Lordship very openly the precise circumstances of this case, from which I am sure you will be convinced that I cannot, after all that has passed, decline recommending the Dean of Waterford if a vacancy should occur on the Bench. I will, however, if your Lordship wishes it, communicate your letter to Mr. Addington."

Hardwicke, writing to Addington on December 28, 1803, thought the claim of Lord Waterford—"with very fair pretensions to apply for such promotion for his brother"—was, in the circumstances, most unreasonable. Lord John George Beresford had only just attained to his thirtieth year, the canonical age of a bishop. Besides, two of the Beresford family were already on the Bench of Bishops—the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Kilmore. The Lord Lieutenant goes on:

"The Dean of Waterford, whose recommendation you have desired me to forward whenever a vacancy occurs, has certainly not acted with proper discretion in declaring publicly that he has your positive promise of the first vacancy. I was sorry to find that he was inclined to press his recommendation as one that ought to have been made, and that he was entitled to expect, on the death of the Bishop of Derry. In answering Lord Waterford, I have endeavoured to show him that the dean's indiscretion, though I disapprove of it entirely, would not justify me in wishing to supersede a recommendation for which you have been so particularly anxious."

The Prime Minister, replying in January, 1804, says: "I rather doubt whether the Dean of Waterford can have made the declaration imputed to him, as it would not only have been inconsistent with discretion, but with accuracy." Butson had only reason to believe that Addington would recommend him for a bishopric after the promotion of the Viceroy's private secretary. "I do, however," adds the Prime Minister, "consider myself bound to support the pretensions of Dr. Butson, as the engagements with which we have been so long encumbered are disposed of."

Lord Waterford also wrote to Addington in the interest of his brother.

"I feel confident," he says, "that no other person in this country can be found to have upon publick or private grounds a stronger or fairer claim for preferment on the Bench than Lord John Beresford, my brother. I am, therefore, to request that you will be pleased to recommend Lord John Beresford to a seat on the Ecclesiastical Bench on this occasion, and I have reason to think that such preferment would not be disagreeable to the Lord Lieutenant, to whom I have spoken on this subject, but to whom application must be made, as he never makes a promise."

But Addington, hurt, no doubt, by Waterford's tittle-tattle about Butson, sent a curt reply.

"My Lord," says he in his note (a copy of which he forwarded to Hardwicke), "Lord John Beresford's personal character and his affinity to your Lordship

justly entitle him to look to a high situation in the Church; but I must beg to confine myself to this admission, and to continue to decline to give any specific assurance or pledge whatever."

The Lord Lieutenant, writing to Addington, January 13, 1804, deals with the rival claims of Waterford and Ely. In the opinion of his Excellency, Ely had already been sufficiently rewarded for his support of the Union; and as Waterford had received no return for his services beyond a step in the Irish Peerage, Waterford rather than Ely was entitled to the next vacant bishopric after the claim of Dr. Butson had been satisfied.

* * *

The Bishop of Raphoe seems to have recovered. But the Bishop of Kildare died in April, 1804, and Dr. Lindsay, the Lord Lieutenant's brother-in-law, was translated from Killaloe to Kildare. Then and only then did Lindsay resign his post as first chaplain to the Viceroy, which he had held in conjunction with the private secretaryship; and as an interlude to the Tottenham Loftus hunt for a bishopric I will give here a remarkable letter from that curious person, Rev. Charles Chester (Hardwicke's poor relation), to the Lord Lieutenant as a claimant for the position:

"DAME STREET, DUBLIN,
"*April* 11, 1804.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"That I may not intrude upon you in a busy moment, I take this method of reverting to a subject I mentioned to you the other day, viz., my succeeding the bishop as your Excellency's first chaplain; and I do it with the more confidence as you wished to know my reasons for desiring it, and I think you said that if it was a very great object to me, you would waive your objections.

"I must begin then with saying that I have ever considered it as an object of the first importance to me; and that it is, as your objection still further convinces me, for the honor of being appointed first chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland naturally attaches a great degree of credit to the person, not only in this country,

but also in England, and especially in the University. To me, therefore, who have so long lived in the neighbourhood of one, on this account it is greater than it might be to many men; and it is a well-known fact that the first chaplain to a Lord Lieutenant has, and ever will be considered to have, a strong claim for handsome preferment from the Minister in England, inasmuch as he is generally considered as having a fair claim for an Irish bishoprick. Now, although I never intend to press for this honour, yet the great interest that such an appointment would give me with the Minister in England cannot but make me greatly wish it, because I shall then be satisfied that the application you have already made for me, and which, as I now stand, may be unattended to, will then soon be answered with some handsome piece of preferment. These reasons, my Lord, and the warm interest you show for my welfare, make me hope you will oblige me in this instance. But this is not all; for from my first appointment as second chaplain, I, of course, looked forward in time to become the first, and so did all my friends.

"Moreover, I was encouraged to look for it by your first chaplain, then Dr. Lindsay, from the first of my coming here; and when you very lately told me that whenever the Bishop would resign the office I should succeed him, and he, at the same time, told me he should resign as soon as the patent for his translation arrived, I, of course, flattered myself that I was sure of it, and mentioned it to many of my friends here, as well as by letter to those in England; which may appear premature, but as I found the Bishop had named his intention and my succession to many of the Household, by whom I was then congratulated, I could not but consider it was certain. And it was but on Thursday last that the Bishop told me in the presence of Mr. Campbell that he should at once resign the office, and that I might consider myself from that time as first chaplain.

"Think, then, my Lord, how great must be my disappointment. But even that is nothing in comparison to the disgrace I shall feel at having been brought into so ridiculous a situation; for, instead of being raised in consequence in this country, I shall appear to my acquaintances here, particularly to the College, and to my friends in England, no better than a false boaster, and can only expect to be despised for having presumed, without your

Excellency's previous concurrence, to speak of an arrangement that will appear to them, by my disappointment, was never seriously in contemplation. Think, then, my dear Lord, how my feelings must be hurt at the idea of labouring under such an imputation, and I trust you will feel but little hesitation in obliging me.

"I should certainly regret that what would be so advantageous and gratifying to me should be a source of trouble to your Lordship; but it appears to me that the inconvenience you alluded to might be effectually prevented by one letter from you to Mr. Addington, or Mr. Yorke, announcing the arrangement, and explaining that the Bishop of Kildare, as Dean of Christ Church, having necessarily resigned the office of first chaplain, your second chaplain and relation, Mr. Chester, in whose behalf you had some time ago applied to him, had succeeded of course; but you thought it right to state to him that it was neither his wish nor your intention that he should interfere with any Ministerial interest in this country; but that you hoped he would take an early opportunity of presenting him to a stall in one of the great cathedrals, and that Westminster would be the most eligible to him.

"Thus, my Lord, you may prevent the possibility of being troubled with any letters on the subject; thus you may promote my interest with the Minister in the most effectual manner; you may save my feelings from being severely wounded, and you will add a most gratifying obligation to those already bestowed upon your obedient, humble servant,

"C. CHESTER."

* * *

Dr. Nathaniel Alexander was translated from Clonfert to Killaloe, and the question remaining for settlement was which of the three claimants for a bishopric—Lord Robert Tottenham Loftus, Lord John Beresford, or Dean Butson of Waterford—should get the vacant see of Clonfert. The Lord Lieutenant sent to Whitehall the official recommendation of Dean Butson for the position. But the Tottenham Loftus family brought all their influence to bear upon the Prime Minister, and, to judge by the following letter from Lord Ely to the Viceroy, they seemed to have, at last, attained their object:

"*May 11th*, 1804.

"MY LORD,

"I took the earliest opportunity of waiting on your Excellency after receiving my English letters to state that my son had a meeting by appointment, on Monday last, with the Duke of Portland and Mr. Addington, on the subject of my younger son's claim on the favour of Government to be placed on the Episcopal Bench in the present vacancy; and on looking it over they each agreed that they conceived the faith of Government was pledged at the time of the Union to give their assistance to his being now appointed; and Mr. Addington felt it so forceably that he desired a gentleman present (General Loftus) to write to Mr. Butson to give the reason why he was not at liberty to recommend him to the present vacancy; and I was told that nothing remained but my entreating your Excellency's kind recommendation to have the business settled to my satisfaction.

"I trust from the very kind answer I received in your closet at the time this vacancy happened, that you will have no objection to grant your favourable recommendation, which will confer the highest obligation on your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

"ELY."

To this communication the Lord Lieutenant sent the following reply:

"PHŒNIX PARK,
"*May 11th*, 1804.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I am very sorry that you should have had the trouble of calling here at a time when I had really not a moment to spare, being anxious to finish some letters for the express or mail of this day.

"Upon the subject of your Lordship's letter, which I have just received, I think it much better to deal fairly and candidly towards your Lordship, than to claim any share in a favour for which, however interesting it must be to your Lordship, you will be solely indebted to Mr. Addington, if his Majesty should approve of the arrangement in favour of Lord Robert Tottenham.

"Your Lordship knows that in the disposal of the Church preferment and other patronage of this country, since I have had the honour of holding my present situation, I have acted merely as a trustee of the late Govern-

ment, and no one can say that I have not been anxious to fulfil every engagement in an honourable and disinterested manner. Had there been any other engagements that received a similar sanction I should not have recommended the Bishop of Killaloe for a seat on the Bench—the only personal favour I have solicited or obtained for any of my connections—nor subsequently, by Mr. Addington's particular desire strongly expressed in different letters, should I have forwarded an official recommendation of the Dean of Waterford. But I cannot retract or supersede a recommendation transmitted officially at the express desire of the Prime Minister, more especially as the satisfaction of other engagements is connected with the promotion of the Dean of Waterford, or of some other clergyman under circumstances nearly similar in respect to the preferment he holds, and not less proper in other more important particulars.

"I flatter myself that even your Lordship, as well as others who may judge impartially upon the subject, will acquit me of any want of goodwill or of due respect and regard towards your Lordship or your family. I have no reason to entertain a contrary feeling, and am ready, as I always have been, to admit your pretensions to recommend your son to some of the higher situations in the Church. But I should not act properly by your Lordship, or consistently with my duty to the publick, or to the King's Government, if I did not say that in my opinion there are claims to which the interests of both—if, indeed, they can be considered separate—demand attention in preference to Lord Robert Tottenham. At the same time that I request your Lordship to give me credit for acting upon a principle of consistency, and upon publick grounds only in the opinions I have given, I cannot conclude without assuring you that I feel in no degree hurt at your having endeavoured to promote the interest of your son in the manner which appeared the most likely to succeed."

A few days later came a most important letter on the subject from the Prime Minister to the Lord Lieutenant. It is dated May 14, 1804, and in it Addington says it is his last communication to Hardwicke as Prime Minister, for on the next day he is to go out of office, to be succeeded by William Pitt. It is a bitter letter. He is very angry

because he finds that the Duke of Portland—Home Secretary at the time of the Union—had, with the approval of the King, really given Lord Loftus the promise of a bishopric for his younger brother, in return for the family support of the Union, and that Portland had failed to communicate this engagement to his colleagues. He says:

"Having resisted all the representations of Lord Loftus (which were not deficient in earnestness, to say the least) in favour of his brother, I was at length placed in a situation of great difficulty by a declaration of the Duke of Portland, made in the presence of Lord Loftus and Lieutenant-General Loftus—viz., that he had given them a promise in the King's name that when Lord Robert Tottenham was of the proper age, and an opportunity offered, he should be raised to the Bench; and that he considered this as an Union engagement, and so binding as to admit of no fair alternative if Lord Ely and his family insisted upon the literal performance of it. I had been previously given to understand that his Grace did not conceive himself to be further pledged than that Lord Robert should stand fair for the Bench when a proper opportunity offered, and that he was by no means pledged for the first vacancy after Lord Robert should have reached the age of thirty.

"The Duke of Portland, however, though wishing well to Dean Butson, stated the engagement as I have before described it, and it became, therefore, impossible for me to be a party in violating a promise given by one of my colleagues in the name of the King. I accordingly suggested that the circumstances ought to be communicated to his Majesty by the Duke of Portland, and an official notification will, of course, be made to your Excellency through the regular channel. I shall make no further comment on this transaction, which is to me a very unpleasant one; and will only add that it should not be imputed to me with truth that any wish of mine has obstructed the performance of a single Union engagement."

* * *

Robert Banks Jenkinson, Lord Hawkesbury, now comes on the scene. He has been appointed to the Home Office in the new Administration, and with him, and his

chief, William Pitt, lies the decision of the question whether the vacant bishopric of Clonfert is to go to Dean Butson or to Lord Robert Tottenham Loftus. Writing to the Viceroy on May 20, 1804, he says the Duke of Portland had given an assurance that in his official capacity as Home Secretary he had contracted an engagement with Lord Loftus for a bishopric for his brother, and in the circumstances Pitt and he had come reluctantly to the conclusion that Lord Robert Tottenham Loftus must be appointed Bishop of Clonfert. Hawkesbury goes on:

"I am happy, however, in being able to add that Pitt entirely agrees with your opinion that the appointment of young men of rank to bishoprics without any attention to their requirements and other qualifications must, on every account, be resisted in the future. The security of the Protestant religion and of order requires the utmost attention to be paid to the purity and respectability of the two Benches. The Union engagements have, in recent instances, most materially counteracted these important objects, but it is to be hoped that they are now at an end, and that we may be enabled to revert to those principles, and that practice, which can alone contribute to the tranquillity and happiness of any country."

Portland's letter to Hawkesbury—a copy of which Hawkesbury sent to Hardwicke—is extremely interesting for the light it throws on the part played by Lord Ely in the haggling and bartering by which the Union of Ireland and Great Britain was effected:

"LONDON,
"*Friday, 18th May*, 1804.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"The vacancy which has lately happened upon the Irish Episcopal Bench has, very naturally, brought forward the claims of the Marquis of Ely in favour of his younger son, Lord Robert Tottenham Loftus, and has occasioned Lord Ely to call upon me to lay before the rest of the King's confidential servants the testimony which, perhaps, I *alone* am able to give in support of his title.

"It is unnecessary now to enter into the particulars which made Lord Ely decline having any communica-

tion with the then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or his Chief Secretary, respecting the Union, and rendered him, moreover, very averse to that measure. The fact is, of itself, sufficiently notorious. But as his influence was very considerable, a common friend of his and mine interfered, and was so fortunate as to prevail upon him to open that negotiation with me (who, your Lordship knows, had at that time the honour of holding the Seals of the Home Department) which he had positively refused to do with Lord Cornwallis. Lord Loftus, accordingly, came over, and among the conditions which he stipulated for his father's support of the Union (all which conditions, I must observe, have been religiously fulfilled) was included the promotion of his brother, Lord Robert, to an Irish bishoprick, when he should become of a convenient age to have one conferred upon him.

"As that event has now taken place, as well as the other, Lord Loftus is now come over again to claim the performance of the engagement above specified; and the whole of Lord Ely's part of it having been correctly and punctually fulfilled, I have no hesitation in giving it as my opinion to your Lordship, that it is the duty of His Majesty's Servants to see this only remaining article of that treaty fully and completely executed, by recommending to his Majesty to confer the vacant bishoprick in Ireland upon Lord Robert Tottenham.

"I have the honour to be, with great truth and regard, your Lordship's faithful, humble servant,

"PORTLAND."

* * *

It seemed a triumph for the Tottenham Loftus family. But Hardwicke was now committed to the appointment of Dr. Butson, and he was not going to see the Dean sacrificed to Lord Robert Tottenham Loftus without a strong protest. Here is a copy of a long letter marked "Private and Confidential," and dated "Phœnix Park, May 24, 1804," which the Viceroy sent to Hawkesbury, telling the whole story for the benefit of the new Prime Minister and the new Home Secretary. He says:

"The recommendation of Dean Butson was originally made in consequence of the particular desire of Mr. Addington, who had known him at Oxford as an excellent scholar. Unfavourable reports had been circulated in

this country respecting his moral character, as well as the correctness of his religious principles, the ground of which I have never been able to ascertain. At any rate, he is a person who has many enemies, and his promotion was by no means a popular measure in Ireland, so that in supporting his recommendation I am not influenced by any private wish of my own, which would rather have induced me to recommend Lord John Beresford, not only from his rank and family connexions, but from his character as a clergyman. Mr. Addington's recommendation of Dean Butson was strongly pressed from the very moment he became Minister till very recently; and even long after he had been apprised by Lord Ely and Lord Loftus of their claim to a bishoprick grounded on a supposed promise of the Duke of Portland.

"It appears by a letter from Mr. Addington in January, 1803, that a reference was actually made to the Duke of Portland, in consequence of Mr. Addington having offered to withdraw his recommendation of the only friend for whom he felt anxiety on the subject of Church preferment in Ireland, if Lord Loftus's statement should be verified. But no written statement from the Duke of Portland was then produced, though Lord Loftus appears from Mr. Addington's letter of January the 9th, 1803, to have given him reason to expect it; and even so lately as the 1st of January last, when a vacancy on the Bench was daily expected, Mr. Addington does not appear to have admitted Lord Loftus's claim. I transmitted on the 21st inst. to Sir Evan Nepean extracts of some of Mr. Addington's letters upon this subject; and I think it right to enclose copies of them as important documents in this case, which has been so much embarrassed by the recent admission of the Duke of Portland in consequence of the perseverance of Lord Loftus.

"I enclose copies of two notes from Lord Ely to myself, the first written before I came to Ireland, the other to solicit the first living which had fallen vacant in the gift of the Crown. To the first of these notes I answered generally that, admitting his Lordship's pretensions to recommend his son for Church preferment, I could not give him any hope of being able to provide for Lord Robert till the Engagements which I had received from Lord Cornwallis had been satisfied, and to the second I answered that the living in question was disposed of to

satisfy a positive engagement. The inference to be drawn from these notes is that Lord Ely himself did not at that time consider his son as having a promise of a bishoprick*; and from Mr. Addington's letters it appears equally clear that the Duke of Portland, though called upon by Lord Loftus, did not support his Lordship's assertion respecting an engagement; and, in consequence, Mr. Addington's friend, the Dean of Waterford, was officially recommended, a circumstance which would not have happened if Lord Loftus's claim had been verified and supported by the Duke of Portland.

"Every precaution, therefore, seems to have been used by Mr. Addington to ascertain whether any such engagement as that claimed by Lord Loftus had actually been made, without the knowledge of Mr. Pitt, who was Minister at the time of the Union, or without having been communicated to me by Lord Cornwallis with the other engagements, or at any time added to the List upon subsequent recollection, or on being reminded of it by the parties concerned."

Two days later, and, of course, before a reply to the above letter was received from Whitehall, Hardwicke again wrote to the Home Secretary on the same subject. He says that on the previous day Lord Robert Tottenham Loftus called upon him at the Castle to request his recommendation for the vacant bishopric, and he encloses, for the information of the Home Secretary, a long but deeply interesting document, which he entitles—"Substance of Lord Hardwicke's Conversation with Lord Robert Tottenham, 25th May, 1804":

"Lord Robert Tottenham began by stating that his father's support at the time of the Union was one of the principal causes of the success of that measure; that by

* The Lord Lieutenant had probably forgotten the following entry which I find in his audience-book recording a call at the Castle by Lord Ely to see his Excellency as early as September 15, 1801: "Going to the County of Wexford. Reminds me of the application he made for his son, Lord Robert Tottenham, who is in the Church. Says he was as much concerned in the Union as anyone, and added that he had made NO BARGAIN! If he had, he says, he might have provided for his son, who has now nothing but a very small living. Replied, I must get through all my engagements before I can possibly attend to his wishes."

the part he took upon the occasion he had made a great sacrifice of personal influence, by which his family might have been benefited and advanced. That upon this ground a promise was made by the Duke of Portland in the King's name that he, Lord Robert Tottenham, should be promoted to the Bench upon the first vacancy after he should be of the proper age; that this promise had been lately recognised by the Duke of Portland in the presence of Lord Loftus and General Loftus; and that he came, in consequence, to request that I would transmit the official recommendation.

"I told his Lordship that soon after I was appointed to the Government of Ireland, I received from Lord Cornwallis, through Lord Castlereagh, in London, a very numerous list of Church engagements, in addition to many others, including two bishopricks, and many other objects of considerable importance. Having undertaken to fulfil these engagements of my predecessor, I had applied every object of patronage that could be so applied to the satisfaction of one or other of them; and if his, Lord Robert's, name had been included in the List, I should have equally received it as a Union engagement. That having, however, adhered so scrupulously to the engagements which I had adopted, I felt a considerable difficulty in abandoning an engagement made by the express desire of Mr. Addington when he was Minister, which had been pressed upon me for three years, and the recommendation of which had been officially transmitted at his particular instance, and with his perfect approbation.

"It was notorious that Dean Butson was recommended for a bishoprick entirely through the friendship of Mr. Addington, who had known him many years ago at Oxford, where he was distinguished as a scholar; that the deanery of Waterford and the living of Kilscoran were both provided for in contemplation of Dean Butson's promotion; and that having already recommended that gentleman for the vacant bishoprick, and made engagements for his preferments, with Mr. Addington's approbation also, I did not see with what consistency I could at once abandon these engagements, and recommend his Lordship. That I was aware his Majesty could dispose of his bishopricks in Ireland, as well as in England, in whatever manner he thought fit, but that it had not been

usual to dispose of them without the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant, and that the promise now claimed had never been admitted till after the recommendations of Dean Butson had been sent over by Mr. Addington's desire.

"In January, 1803, Mr. Addington informed me that upon Lord Loftus claiming this promise of a bishoprick, previously to his departure for France, he had told his Lordship that if that promise could be established, the only friend for whose preferment in Ireland he felt anxious should give way; but he added that though Lord Loftus had given him reason to expect from the Duke of Portland a written statement of the promise, he had not received it. I could not help observing that if that statement had even then been supplied, much of the present difficulty and embarrassment would have been spared, for Dean Butson would never have been recommended at all.

"Lord Robert Tottenham did not controvert any part of the statement which I had made, except by asserting that Mr. Addington had declared that Dean Butson was not recommended by his desire (a circumstance which I cannot explain, after Mr. A.'s letters upon the subject, which were the whole cause of the recommendation). He also added that Mr. Addington was perfectly satisfied to withdraw the Dean's pretensions, and that the Dean was also satisfied with what Mr. Addington had said to him upon the subject.

"To this I could only say that the conduct of one man was no rule for that of another; that I was not particularly fond of saying that what I called black one day was white another; that I did not consider Mr. Addington's conduct upon this occasion at all creditable, and that holding that opinion I could not avoid expressing it; that if he consented to abandon his friend, it was no reason why that I should send over a recommendation directly inconsistent with that which was at this moment upon record, both here and in the Secretary of State's office in London.

"Lord Robert then repeated his question whether I would transmit his recommendation, and upon my again repeating the difficulty I felt he said, 'In what way, then, am I to proceed?' To this question I replied that I did not wish to give any advice in a case of which I did not approve, explaining, however, that by that expression I meant nothing personally uncivil towards his Lordship,

but merely in reference to what had passed, and that I was far from entertaining any hostile feeling towards his Lordship or his family.

"Lord Robert added that Mr. Addington had told him he did not desire the recommendation of Dean Butson to be transmitted officially. He took his leave, with an apology for having taken up so much of my time."

"Upon the best consideration which I have been able to give the subject," says the Lord Lieutenant in his covering letter to Hawkesbury, "it appears to me that after the recommendation which I have officially sent by the desire and with the consent of Mr. Addington, that I cannot, with any propriety or consistency, supersede that recommendation by transmitting another on any lighter grounds than his Majesty's commands." Nothing could be more determined and imperative. It meant simply—"Appoint Dr. Butson Bishop of Clonfert, or I resign."

In another letter, dated June 9, 1804, sent by the Lord Lieutenant to the Chief Secretary, Sir Evan Nepean, who was then in London, his Excellency says:

"With respect to Lord Robert Tottenham, he is young enough to wait, and if he is to be a bishop soon I think it most likely he would prefer Ferns to any other, on account of the interest of his family in the county of Waterford. I flatter myself, therefore, whenever Mr. Pitt has an opportunity of mentioning and explaining the subject to the King, that the King's Letters for the promotion of the Dean of Waterford to Clonfert, and of the Rev. Mr. Cole to the Deanery, will be sent over, for as the letter of recommendation (at least for the former) is in Lord Hawkesbury's office no other will now be required.

"After this is arranged I shall probably be desired to recommend Lord Robert Tottenham for the next; but whatever may be thought right upon the whole, I think it will be at all events better for me to avoid a promise. I apprehend that Lord Loftus and the rest of them will be perfectly satisfied when they find that the Bench is not to be taken by storm. I shall make an attempt to bring over the Primate, and shall take occasion to write to him when the whole is settled. I heard the other day that his great cause of offence is that Mr. Clelland was

appointed Precentor of Armagh,* a situation which brings him in immediate and frequent communication with his Grace. This was a positive engagement delivered to me by Lord Cornwallis, was a private wish of Lord Castlereagh in favour of a clergyman who had been a sort of tutor or governor or companion of his, and who is now an agent of Lord Londonderry. If this is a grievance, it is none against the present Government, and at any rate the Primate might have tried to manage some exchange through the interest of Government and his own patronage, instead of remaining by his fireside in anger with all the world. Mr. Bissett† has declined the Deanery of Cloyne."

The Lord Lieutenant triumphed. Here is a letter written by Hawkesbury from Whitehall, June 18, 1804, to his Excellency:

"Mr. Pitt has seen Lord Loftus on the subject of the vacant bishoprick, and has informed him that under all the circumstances of the case his brother cannot succeed to it. This disagreeable business is therefore at an end. The difficulties which have occurred in it are certainly to be ascribed chiefly to the Duke of Portland, who, if he was so improvident as to make the promise, should at the time have communicated it both to Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis, which he certainly did not do. The situation which Mr. Pitt held at the time of the Union makes him the properest judge how far the engagement could be considered as imperatively binding or not, and with his decision Lord Loftus has, not without much difficulty, complied."

Lord Loftus then sent Pitt a letter, a copy of which was forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant. It is dated June 13, 1804, and runs:

"SIR,

"Having felt extreme concern at the disappointment that occurred yesterday, when I had the honour of seeing you on the subject of my brother's promotion to the Bench, and for which I was totally unprepared, I was prevented at the moment from expressing those senti-

* See the Union Engagements, "Ecclesiastical" section.

† Another Union engagement. See "Ecclesiastical" section of List of Union Engagements.

ments which have since occurred on reflecting seriously on this painful subject.

"I can assure you, Sir, nothing could give me more pain than to induce a supposition that any object of mine, however well founded my claims, tending to embarrass you or your arrangements, should be pertinaciously adhered to by me. I, therefore, do now, on the part of Lord Ely and myself, wave our pretensions to the *present vacancy*, relying, as I most confidently do, on your assurances, that my brother shall succeed to the *first subsequent vacancy* on the Bench, without having to apprehend any impediment being thrown in the way by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland."

The letter contains the following pencilled note by Hardwicke: "N.B.—This was very unhandsome and very unfounded, for Lord Loftus threw impediments in the way of the arrangements which had been officially recommended, by the desire of the Prime Minister after a full consideration of Lord Loftus's pretensions, which had been disavowed by the Duke of Portland and set aside." However, Hardwicke, naturally, was joyous over his success. He sent a letter to the Home Secretary, declaring the deep thankfulness and gratitude with which he had learned that Mr. Pitt "has settled the affair of the bishoprick in so satisfactory and so honourable a manner." Dr. Butson, Dean of Waterford, was accordingly promoted to the bishopric of Clonfert.

* * *

Where, it will be asked, was the Marquis of Waterford all this time? The following letter supplies the answer:

"LONDON,
"*June* 26, 1804.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I should have waited until I had the pleasure of seeing you in Dublin, if I did not think it incumbent on me at present to express the gratitude I feel for your Excellency's good intentions towards my brother, Lord John Beresford. That he has not succeeded on the last vacancy, and that he will not succeed on the next, I can in no way impute to your Excellency. I am fully sensible of your desire to serve me by advancing Lord John, and

only lament the unfortunate arrangements which have prevented the exercise of your friendship.

"When I was informed that the negotiation between Lord Loftus and Mr. Butson was concluded, I thought it my duty to wait on Mr. Pitt in order to endeavour to place my brother in such a situation that he might not be subject to any further disappointment. I will not so far disguise my sentiments as not to say that I felt considerable mortification on hearing that another engagement* would prevent the accomplishment of my wishes as soon as I expected; but being convinced that embarrassing circumstances alone could have induced the engagement to be made, I acquiesced, and retired from a second interview with Mr. Pitt in the fullest confidence that my brother's having been kept back in his profession would eventually not be of disadvantage to him. I hope your Excellency will approve of my conduct, and give me credit for the cheerfulness with which I have borne disappointment.

"Your Excellency will, I flatter myself, do me the justice to acknowledge, that with whatever anxiety I naturally may be supposed to feel in an object of so much importance to one of my family, I have never pressed you to interest yourself in a manner inconsistent with propriety. I now hope that if this wished-for opportunity should occur during your Excellency's Administration you will have pleasure in co-operating with the wishes of Mr. Pitt in placing my brother in a good bishoprick, and thereby assisting me in the attainment of an object, which it will be particularly gratifying to me to obtain while your Excellency remains in the Government of Ireland.

"Believe me, my dear Lord, your Excellency's faithful, obliged, humble servant,

"WATERFORD."

Writing on July 10, 1804, to Lord Waterford, the Viceroy says:

"I have now the satisfaction of assuring you, and with the entire concurrence of Mr. Pitt, that Lord John will

* On the margin of the letter there is a note in the handwriting of Hardwicke in reference to this passage: "To Lord Robert Tottenham, so unaccountably sanctioned by the Duke of Portland."

be recommended to the Bench on the next succeeding vacancy, when I flatter myself the object, concerning which your Lordship is naturally so anxious, shall be accomplished in a manner that will be agreeable to you both. I shall only add that I have been really mortified at the disappointment which your Lordship has experienced, and that I shall be particularly gratified if the opportunity of promoting your views upon the subject should occur during my continuance in the Government of Ireland."

* * *

The Tottenham Loftus family were balked, but not routed. "Lord Ely will never relinquish anything," said Cornwallis, when the Duke of Portland wrote to him in December, 1800, that the King was reluctant to confer the marquisate which had been promised for his services to the Union. The Marquis of Ely had an interview with Pitt, the result of which was a letter from Hawkesbury to Hardwicke, saying:

"It is Mr. Pitt's opinion that, under all the circumstances of the case, it will not be possible to avoid promoting my Lord Robert Tottenham Loftus to the Episcopal Bench on the next vacancy."

Nor had Lord Robert Tottenham Loftus long to wait for his bishopric. In September, 1804, the see of Down became vacant. The Lord Lieutenant wrote to Dr. Stuart, the Primate, as Down was in his Grace's province, informing him that Lord Robert Tottenham Loftus had the first claim on the Government for promotion to the Episcopal Bench.

"I am the more anxious that your Grace should consider the point," says his Excellency, "because I recollect your opinion, expressed on a former occasion, respecting the necessity of being very cautious as to the character and conduct of those who were placed in the bishopricks of the Protestant part of Ireland. I should, therefore, wish to know, as I am not called upon in any degree to recommend Lord Robert Tottenham to the vacant see of Down, whether there is any bishop on the Bench to whom your Grace would think it might be offered with more propriety."

The reply of the Primate is as follows :

"ARMAGH,
"*Sept.* 28, 1804.

"MY LORD,

"I have had the honor of receiving your Excellency's letter.

"The diocese of Down is certainly of such importance as to require an upright, active, and prudent bishop. Of Lord Robert Tottenham's moral character I have heard nothing, and, therefore, am willing to believe it not to be bad. But as I find it is universally said that he is utterly unacquainted with his profession, never having performed *any* clerical duties, I should conceive it would be improper to place him in a situation where even a slight imprudence might be extremely detrimental to the Church.

"The Bishop of Ferns would, perhaps, be the fittest person for the diocese of Down. He has temper, character, knowledge, and every requisite that would enable him to fill it with credit to himself, and with advantage to the public. But as there is no episcopal house, as the income is inferior to that of Ferns, and as he looks forward to other preferment, I can scarcely think he would be inclined to change.

"The Bishop of Killaloe having an estate and large house in the diocese of Down, and being of a dissenting family, and therefore being connected with the Dissenters of the North, the bishoprick of Down would be peculiarly acceptable to him. He has prudence and moderation, but is, in other respects, inferior to the Bishop of Ferns. As I conceive there are strong objections to the Bishops of Ossory, Clonfert, and Killala, the Bishops of Ferns and Killaloe appear to be the only two who could with any propriety be translated, if your Excellency should not deem it prudent to place Lord Robert Tottenham in the diocese of Down."

The Bishop of Killaloe was accordingly recommended for translation to Down and Lord Robert Tottenham Loftus for promotion to Killaloe. Hawkesbury, writing from Whitehall, October 17, 1804, says :

"Under all the circumstances of the case, it is impossible not to fulfil the engagement of the Duke of Portland to Lord Robert Tottenham Loftus for the vacant bishop-

rick, though I must own that the elevation of young men of fashion to the Bench is liable to considerable objections, and especially in Ireland, where so much is wanting to be done for the encouragement of true religion."

The Lord Lieutenant thus conveys the good news to Lord Ely:

"*Private.*

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*23rd Oct.*, 1804.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I am sorry that it has not been in my power to make an earlier communication to your Lordship of the diocese to which Lord Robert Tottenham will be recommended on his promotion to the Episcopal Bench. I have now, however, great satisfaction in acquainting you that he will be recommended to the bishoprick of Killaloe, and that the official letter to the Secretary of State will be forwarded this day.

"The present Bishop of Killaloe having promised to give me some assistance from the patronage of his diocese, I shall rely upon Lord Robert Tottenham's disposition to act the same friendly part, which is really material to me on account of the great number of engagements which I have had, and the limited patronage of Government in Ireland in point of livings.

"I am happy to think that Lord Robert will find Killaloe a very eligible situation, and I doubt not but the present and late Bishop will give him every information upon the subject."

Lord Ely replies:

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I beg your Excellency to accept my thanks for your very obliging letter which I had the honour of receiving yesterday, informing me that you had last night recommended my son, Lord Robert Tottenham, to be Bishop of Killaloe. I flatter myself that his conduct in all respects will answer your Excellency's expectation, and prove him to be not unworthy of the honor conferred upon him.

"I can venture without consulting him (which I wish at present to decline) to say that he will find much pleasure

in conferring on any person your Lordship shall think fit to recommend, the very first preferment in his patronage."

* * *

The claim of Lord John Beresford was also quickly satisfied. In January, 1805, another bishopric fell into the hands of the Viceroy, by the death of the Bishop of Cork and Ross. Lord John Beresford had the first claim to the vacant see; but his reverend lordship now aspired to the richer diocese of Raphoe, the Bishop of which was again extremely ill. It appears, from a letter written by the Lord Lieutenant to the Home Secretary on the subject of the vacancy in the see of Cork, that the Bishop of Ferns had expressed a wish some months before to be translated to the diocese of Raphoe, and that Hardwicke had, with Pitt's consent, informed him that when the expected vacancy occurred in Raphoe the see should be his. Now the situation was complicated by the desire of Lord John Beresford to wait for Raphoe rather than to accept Cork. The Viceroy says:

"Upon the return of Lord Waterford to Ireland in August he informed me that he had spoken to Mr. Pitt on the subject of his son, Lord John, being appointed to the bishoprick of Raphoe, and that on Mr. Pitt making some objection on the ground of its being unusual to solicit a bishoprick of the supposed value of Raphoe on the first advancement to the Bench, Lord Waterford observed that the situation of the diocese in the neighbourhood of his property in the county of Derry made it particularly eligible, and that his brother had experienced delays and disappointments in his promotion to the Episcopal Bench. That Mr. Pitt admitted that the circumstance made a difference, and Lord Waterford understood him to say that Lord John should have the bishoprick of Raphoe.

"I told Lord Waterford that if he had at any time expressed a particular wish for that bishoprick, I would have taken care that no encouragement should be given to any other person; but as his Lordship had never mentioned any other wish than an hope that his son might be placed in a good bishoprick I had concluded he pointed to one in the South of those that were likely to

become vacant, in preference to one of those in the Province of Connaught.

"From this short statement your Lordship will see how the matter stands, and I should hope Lord Waterford might be induced to waive Raphoe for the present, more especially as the vacancy which his brother is entitled to fill has occurred in another bishoprick, which I understand is worth between £3,000 and £4,000 per annum."

The Viceroy proceeds to say that if Lord John Beresford persisted in claiming Raphoe, perhaps the Bishop of Ferns might be induced to waive the promise he had received of translation to that see, of course on conditions—namely, "by holding out to him an expectation of being raised to the rank of an Archbishop in case a vacancy should occur by the removal of the Primate to England in the event of the death of the Archbishop of York." In reply to this letter, Hawkesbury, writing from Whitehall, January 30, 1805, says that Pitt agreed to the promotion of Lord John Beresford to the see of Cork, if his lordship would accept of it. He continues:

"The only objection that could at any time have been made to his appointment arises from the circumstances of there being already two Irish bishopricks in his family; but the error was in the appointment of John Beresford's son to be Bishop of Kilmore, and it would not be just that a person of Lord John's character should suffer on that account. With respect to the holding out to the Bishop of Ferns (as I understand you) the expectation of succeeding to one of the Archbishoprics, and of thereby enabling you to give the bishoprick of Raphoe, when it shall become vacant, to Lord John Beresford, there does not appear to be any objection to it. But I think it important that you should be apprised that the idea of the Primate being likely to succeed to the Archbishoprick of York is, as far as I have any means of information, wholly destitute of foundation, and, under present circumstances, not at all likely to be accomplished."

In the end Lord John Beresford accepted Cork, in February, 1805. He was promoted to the archbishopric of Dublin in 1820, and to the Primacy in 1822.

CHAPTER VII

THE LAWYERS AND THE UNION

"THE Bar was almost universally hostile to the measure of Union, principally because it left to the members of the profession no other theatre than the Four Courts on which they might distinguish and advance themselves, and it must be admitted that the legal appointments which have taken place since the Union have been conferred upon persons who, without that object of contest, would never have been brought forward."

This is a passage from a letter dated September, 1803, written by Hardwicke to Addington. In December, 1798, during the early stage of the agitation on the subject of the Union, and on the eve of the first introduction of the question in the Irish Parliament, a most representative meeting of the Bar was held in Dublin, and after a long and very able debate, in which all the great lawyers took part, a resolution was carried by 166 votes to 32 condemning the scheme. In that debate William Conyngham Plunket displayed conspicuous ability in opposition to the Union; and during the passage of the measure through the House of Commons there was no more powerful, eloquent, or strenuous defender of the Irish Parliament. Time passed, and Lord Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was murdered during the Emmet insurrection in June, 1803. At the trial of Emmet in September, 1803, Plunket held a brief for the Crown; and in his speech to the jury delivered a virulent attack on the prisoner, picturing him as a villain steeped in iniquity, and repudiated the protestations of undying

hostility to the Union which he himself had made in the Irish House of Commons only four years before. A few weeks subsequently, in the legal promotions consequent on the death of Kilwarden, Plunket was appointed Solicitor-General.

The Lord Lieutenant seems to have been apprehensive that the appointment to one of the law offices of the Crown of a man who had been so prominent an opponent of the Union—although unquestionably a most able lawyer—might be resented at Whitehall. He wrote a long letter in explanation to Addington, from which I take the passage that opens this chapter. "It is, therefore, highly desirable," he also says, "and, indeed, essential to the support and credit of English Government, since Parliamentary objects are removed from this country, that the character of Government should be redeemed by a strict attention to merit and to what is due to public opinion in the selection of persons for the higher legal appointments, and particularly for the Judicial Bench." This, it will be recollected, was in September, 1803. By that time all the legal engagements in connection with the Union had practically been discharged. Not more than five of the thirty-two barristers who had voted for the Union at the Bar debate were without places; and of the twenty-three barristers who supported the Union in the House of Commons in 1800, six were on the Bench, and eight had other offices under the Crown. The Prime Minister, therefore, like the Viceroy, saw no objection to the appointment of William Conyngham Plunket to the office of Solicitor-General, in succession to James M'Clelland—a Union appointment—who was promoted to the Bench as Baron of the Court of Exchequer.

* * *

The wiping off of the legal account in the bill of the Union engagements for a time progressed smoothly. In June, 1801, St. George Daly, the Prime Serjeant, was appointed Baron of the Court of Exchequer; Robert Johnson was made a puisne Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and Edmund Stanley succeeded Daly in the office

of His Majesty's Prime Serjeant at Law in Ireland. These, as will be seen on reference to the List of Union Engagements, had the first claims for promotion.

Stanley was Prime Serjeant for a few months only. He was in deeply embarrassed circumstances. So closely was he watched and pursued by his creditors that to avoid arrest and imprisonment for debt he secretly fled from Dublin. "Lately at the Four Courts," writes the Viceroy to the Prime Minister, "when the Prime Serjeant was wanted to give some explanation of a trial at which he had presided at the last circuit, his residence could not be ascertained, and the reference, of course, could not take place."

This was a scandal that could not be tolerated, so in December, 1801, Stanley was removed from the office of Prime Serjeant. But he received another appointment. Among the legal engagements there is the case of Arthur Browne. He was a Fellow of Trinity College, and one of the representatives of Dublin University in the Irish House of Commons. With his colleague, George Knox, he denounced the Union, and voted against it on the first introduction of the question in 1799. In the following session he changed his mind, and supported the Union. He acknowledged that in so doing he was acting contrary to the opinions and wishes of the majority of his constituents. What, then, had induced him to alter his opinion on the great question of the day? We find it in the List of Union Engagements: "Received assurances of legal provision." This particular engagement gave the conscientious Hardwicke considerable trouble, for Browne was supposed to be an indifferent lawyer. The Executive had a number of the Irish seats in the United Parliament at their disposal. Browne, who was turned out of the representation of Dublin University, was offered one of these safe constituencies. But he refused to be shelved in that fashion. What he expected—as he told the Lord Lieutenant—was not a seat in Parliament, but a seat on the Judicial Bench. The office of Commissioner of Accounts, with a salary of £800 a year, became vacant. It was tendered

to him, and accepted, on the understanding that it was not to be regarded as a satisfaction of his claim for legal promotion. Then an exchange of posts between Browne and Stanley was arranged in January, 1802. Browne got the office of Prime Serjeant, and Stanley the place at the Board of Accounts. The emoluments of both positions were equal.

* * *

Clare, the Lord Chancellor, was not satisfied with the manner in which judicial appointments were being filled. In a letter to the Lord Lieutenant, dated September 16, 1801, and marked "Private," he thus pours forth his indignation :

"As yet I have not received an answer from the Attorney-General to a letter which I wrote to him from Dublin, whilst I was there ; and if he should decline the situation of a Judge I should feel some difficulty in selecting two or three persons for your Excellency's consideration in recommending a successor to Baron Metge, and am free to acknowledge that such a return on my part strikes me not to be altogether consistent with the situation which I have the honour to hold in the Law Department in this country.

"I have endeavoured to the best of my judgment to recommend the persons best qualified for the Bench since I have held the Seal of Ireland. In every instance of a vacancy which occurred during Lord Westmorland's Government, he attended implicitly to my recommendation. In the Administration of Lord Camden political considerations prevailed with him to overrule my opinion ; and I must say that the law arrangements made by his successor (the promotion of Mr. Justice Fox excepted) are such as I did most unequivocally disapprove of.

"My only object is to promote the due administration of justice, and if I am appealed to on the subject I will conscientiously give the best and fairest opinion upon it. But unless that opinion is to be attended to by the Executive Government, without appeal from it, I shall beg leave to decline altogether any interference in the appointment of a Judge in Ireland.

"The answer made to me, when I made very strong remonstrances against some of Lord Cornwallis's law

promotions, was that his political engagements made it indispensably necessary that he should not attend to them, but that after the Union the English practice should prevail in Ireland. If I were to consult my private feelings I would abundantly prefer the old abominable practice of accommodating law promotions to the political objects of the Executive Government. But if it is professed to take the opinion of the Chancellor as a guide to the Executive Government so long as I have the honour to hold the Great Seal, I will decline to give any such opinion in the shape of a return of names for the selection of one of them, and should feel such a proceeding to be utterly inconsistent with the situation which I hold."

This communication contains the following observation in the handwriting of Hardwicke :

" To this ill-tempered letter I made no reply ; and if a letter of a different sort had not followed it my intercourse with the writer must have been discontinued."

* * *

The highest legal office in Ireland, the Lord Chancellorship, fell into the hands of the Government through the death of the Earl of Clare on January 28, 1802. The Ministers almost exulted in the disappearance of the proud, masterful, stiff-necked John FitzGibbon. As I have already shown, he had a contempt for the Englishmen sent over to rule Ireland after the Union, Hardwicke the Viceroy, and Abbot the Chief Secretary—the impatience of the strong and able and domineering and ambitious personality for the commonplace and mediocre men that cross his path. " The death of Lord Clare," says Abbot, " delivered the Irish, and also the British Government, from great trouble. He had rendered signal service to his country in a crisis of great violence ; but his love of power and his overruling temper made him unfit for the station of Chancellor, when no longer coupled with the degree of authority which he had exercised as Minister before the Union." What an end was his ! In the Viceroy's Post-bag there is not a word of regret for his premature and unexpected death from the

Ministers whose interests in Ireland he had served so well and so long, and he was buried in Dublin amid the execrations of the people. A bitter anti-Papist, he once declared that he would make the Catholics as tame as cats. Dead cats were flung upon his hearse. The Lord Lieutenant, however, in a note to Abbot, dated February 2, 1802, endeavours to minimize the significance of this unseemly demonstration. "The riot and disorder at Lord Clare's funeral," says he, "was occasioned by a gang of about fourteen persons under orders of a leader, so that it does not tell so ill for the character of the Dublin populace (whom I am not, however, going to defend) as I had at first imagined."

Who was to succeed FitzGibbon as Lord Chancellor? He was the first Irishman that had ever filled that office. The Lord Lieutenant was desirous that the precedent thus set should be followed, and his choice was Lord Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. While Clare lay dangerously ill at Mount Shannon, his country residence, near Limerick, Kilwarden called on Hardwicke —as the Viceroy tells Addington, the Prime Minister, in a letter dated January 19, 1802—to urge his claim to the Lord Chancellorship, should it become vacant.

His Excellency writes:

"He stated his pretensions with great diffidence, not desiring any answer at present, and, of course, not receiving any other from me than that I should take the earliest opportunity of informing His Majesty's Ministers of the wish which his Lordship had expressed upon the subject. I added that from the great importance of the office itself, the determination must, of course, rest with His Majesty's Ministers, to whose consideration I should immediately submit his Lordship's pretensions.

"My private opinion certainly is, and I believe that of the publick also, that the experience, character and talent of Lord Kilwarden point him out as the properest person to succeed Lord Clare. Of the other Chief Judges, Lord Norbury, though a very worthy and pleasant man, is scarcely fit for the situation to which he has been raised; and Lord Avonmore is deeply in debt, and is, besides, of

a temper less adapted to such an office than Lord Kilwarden.

"The policy of appointing an Irishman, or of selecting a person from the English Bar, must, of course, be for your consideration. If I were to give an opinion upon the subject I should say that it would be better to appoint an Irish lawyer at the present moment. The great theatre for the talents of the Irish lawyers was taken away by the removal of the Parliament, and they have now no other objects of ambition to which they can look than those of their own profession. With a view, therefore, to satisfy that body, I should think the policy of selecting a Chancellor from the Irish Bench, in many respects, far better than that of resorting to the English Bar."

Lord Clare was subsequently removed to Dublin, with the idea of going to England for the benefit of his health. "He had been attacked," Hardwicke tells Pelham, "by a violent bleeding from the nose, which lasted, without intermission, for sixteen hours, and had reduced him to a state of weakness which, he says, he cannot well describe." Writing on January 28, 1802, Hardwicke informs the Home Secretary that the Lord Chancellor died that morning at half-past one o'clock at his Dublin house. "He retained his senses to the last," says the Viceroy, "but I fear that lately he must have suffered considerably from the great difficulty of breathing, though I understand he did not complain."* On January 30 Hardwicke reported to Whitehall that Lord Avonmore, Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, had called upon him that morning as a suitor for the vacant Chancellorship. "His Lordship stated," says the Viceroy, "that he hoped he should not be considered as presuming in feeling ambitious

* Lord Clare in his will (extracts from which were sent to Hardwicke) warns his wife and children to have nothing to do with his sister, Mrs. Jeffries, and her family, "all of whom," he says, "he has known from long and fatal experience to be destitute of every principle of justice, honor, and gratitude." What a fierce and relentless personality he must have been, thus to carry his hatreds to the grave! He also desires that his books may be removed from Mount Shannon to Dublin, "if this giddy and distracted country," he says, "should ever be restored to peace."

to succeed as Chancellor the person who had succeeded him in the office of Attorney-General. He further represented that he had been upwards of 18 years Chief Baron of the Exchequer."

Baron Yelverton, for his advocacy of the Union, was created Viscount Avonmore in the list of promotions of December, 1800. But Lord Kilwarden was still the choice of the Irish Executive for the post of Lord Chancellor. Abbot, the Chief Secretary, writing to Addington, the Prime Minister, says :

" Lord Avonmore, whose learning and talents are unquestionably great, is nevertheless so totally negligent of propriety of manners, and so extremely embarrassed in his private concerns, that it is hardly creditable for the King's service for him to remain Chief Baron of the Exchequer. His very salary of office is assigned to pay his creditors, by deed enrolled in his own Court."

So certain was the appointment of Kilwarden regarded that Hardwicke also reports to Pelham that Lord Norbury, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas—who, as John Toler, Attorney-General, had rendered the Government powerful aid in carrying the Union—had called on him in the guise of a petitioner for the higher judicial position of Chief Justice, praying " that his humble request may be laid at His Majesty's feet, that he may be honoured with a promotion to the King's Bench in case the office of Chief Justice should become vacant in any intended arrangement."

But the post of Lord Chancellor was to go to an Englishman. On February 1, 1802, Pelham sent the following letter to the Lord Lieutenant :

" There is great reason to hope that Sir John Mitford will accept the Seals, which would be, in my opinion, next to the Union, the greatest blessing to Ireland that can be imagined. I entertain a very high opinion of Lord Kilwarden's talents and virtues, and should have no doubt of preferring him to any person at the Irish Bar ; but, taking the Bar of the Empire, I have no doubt in saying that Sir John Mitford is the fittest man to suc-

ceed to any vacancy that might arise in either Kingdom, if I may still use that term of distinction. There is not a doubt at the Bar of England of his being pre-eminently the best equity lawyer in the profession."

Mitford had succeeded Addington as Speaker of the House of Commons. The correspondence in the Viceroy's Post-bag shows that he by no means jumped at the offer of the Lord Chancellorship of Ireland. He said he was reluctant to quit England and take office in a country wholly unknown to him. The entire influence of the Ministry was brought to bear on him to induce him to go to Ireland. The country was represented to him as being in a state of chaos. On his acceptance of the office of Lord Chancellor depended the re-establishment of law and order in Ireland. Even George III. joined in the implorings of his Ministers to Mitford to become the saviour of the unfortunate sister island. Mitford yielded to these flattering solicitations. His terms, however, were that his salary as Lord Chancellor should be fixed by Act of Parliament at £10,000 a year, and that he should be promoted to the Peerage as Lord Redesdale. They were readily granted. How keen he was about the emoluments of the office is shown by the following letter from Hardwicke to Addington :

"*Private and Confidential.*

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*March 14th*, 1802.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am sorry to be under the necessity of communicating to you a letter which I have received from Lord Redesdale, with a short statement of the circumstances which give rise to it. Before the event of Lord Clare's death was known in England, a King's letter had been sent from the Secretary of State's office for the appointment of three Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal, as recommended by Lord Clare himself, reserving to him, in the same manner as they were reserved by the Commission during his absence last year in England, the fees, perquisites, profits and emoluments of the office. As soon as Lord Clare's death was

known another letter was sent from the Secretary of State's office for the appointment of the same Commissioners, but instead of withholding the fees and emoluments, giving to them all the profits, etc., etc., in as ample a manner as to the Chancellor himself. At the end of February, the King's letter arrived for the appointment of Lord Redesdale, from the terms of which, whenever acted upon, it appeared that the emoluments of the present Commissioners should cease.

"In order to ascertain the effect of the two Commissions, and to clear up the apparent inconsistency between them, Mr. Marsden had an interview with Lord Kilwarden, who was of opinion that the Commissioners would consider themselves entitled to the emoluments given by their Commission so long as they continued to discharge the duty. His Lordship, therefore, thought it would be the safer and better course to write to England in order to ascertain the effect of the two Instruments.

"In this state of things I thought it far better to write to Lord Redesdale himself than to make any formal application on the subject, not conceiving that it was intended by the King's letter to put out of the receipt of the emoluments the Commissioners who would necessarily continue to discharge the duties under their appointment, and until the delivery of the Seal to Lord Redesdale. You will, I am sure, not be surprised that I should feel mortified at the manner in which Lord Redesdale appears to have understood my letter; but I should not have troubled you upon the subject if he had not expressed an intention of laying the matter before His Majesty. The possibility of this having been done makes it necessary that I should give you this explanation, though as Lord Redesdale has desired his letter might be considered as confidential I have not written upon this subject to any other person than Mr. Wickham."

Soon after this Redesdale arrived in Dublin. It is characteristic of the man that the first thing he did was to hold an inquiry into the salary, fees, and perquisites of his office. There is a letter from him to the Lord Lieutenant dated "Ely Place, 27th April, 1802," in which he states the Prime Minister had promised that his income should be £10,000 a year, British money, and clear of all deductions. He says he had been informed

by "Mr. Denyer, the secretary to the late Lord Clare," that the income then properly belonging to the office was £5,000 a year. In addition to this Lord Clare received, under the Act passed to compensate holders of offices abolished by the Union for loss of income and emolument, two sums of £3,978 3s. 4d. and £161 6s. 8d.—in respect of his offices as Speaker of the House of Lords—raising the income received by him to a total sum of £9,139 10s. In the way of perquisites, Lord Clare was paid £500 a year by his secretary out of his fees, and £50 a year by one of the messengers of the Commissioners of Bankruptcy, which was derived from fees also. Redesdale thought that the messenger ought not to be charged with this £50 a year, and he proposed to abolish the liability; but the £500 a year from the secretary to the Lord Chancellor might, with propriety, be continued to be paid for the benefit of the public. As to his own salary of £10,000 per annum British "clear of all deductions," it was to be placed on the Irish Establishment, and to secure that object he drafted a Bill which he asked the Lord Lieutenant to send to the Ministers in London, with a request that steps be immediately taken to pass it into law.

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The engagement to William Johnson of legal promotion gave Hardwicke considerable trouble, as his note to the case in the List of Union Engagements shows. The following letter to Pelham, who had apparently written to the Viceroy in the interest of Johnson, enters more fully into the reasons of his Excellency's objection to Johnson being made a judge:

"*Private.*

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*March 31st*, 1802.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging your Lordship's letter of the 25th inst., and think it my duty to give you the best opinion I have been able to form in regard to the propriety of holding out to Mr. William

Johnson any expectation of being appointed to a seat upon the Bench, instead of receiving some other Law promotion, in consequence of his engagement from Lord Cornwallis. I understood, and your Lordship may probably have heard, that some of the last promotions to the Bench were not very satisfactory to the Profession, and were not generally considered in the country as reflecting great credit on the Government. Of this description was the promotion of Mr. Johnson, who was appointed to the Common Pleas in the room of Judge Kelly; and though his brother, Mr. William Johnson, is certainly a man of abilities, and materially assisted the question of Union, I am very apprehensive that the promoting him to a seat on the Bench would expose the Government to a considerable share of censure and animadversion.

"From the engagement made with him by Lord Cornwallis he is certainly entitled to be considered in his profession, and I was in hopes that he would be perfectly satisfied with the prospect of succeeding to the situation of Counsel to the Commissioners, whenever an opening could be made in one of those offices. Hitherto the Law promotions have been made entirely subservient to the Union engagements, for the promotion of Baron Smith, the late Solicitor-General, to the Bench, which was approved of, and indeed recommended by Lord Clare, made an opening for Mr. M'Clelland.

"If there had been any positive engagement for the Bench, it would, of course, have been necessary to have adhered to it; but as it is of great importance in every point of view that the judicial situations should be filled in a manner likely to afford general satisfaction, I should hope Mr. Johnson would be gratified by an assurance of being considered on the first opening of some such situation as that of Counsel to the Commissioners, to which under his engagement he would have a very strong claim."

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Another Union engagement that worried the Lord Lieutenant is the one thus described in the legal section of the official list: "Mr. Grady, £1,000 per annum." J. S. Grady, a Protestant barrister, was one of the few members of the Bar who supported the Union at the famous meeting of the lawyers to consider the question

in December, 1798. He was also active in promoting petitions in favour of the Union in Munster. When the time came for the payment of the reward which he had been promised for his services—a legal appointment worth £1,000 a year—the Irish Executive found themselves in an awkward predicament. He was notoriously an incompetent lawyer, worse even than Arthur Browne, the Prime Serjeant. What was to be done with him? In October, 1801, Abbot wrote on the subject to Lord Castlereagh, and received the following apologetic defence of the engagement:

"It is one of those arrangements pressed upon us by the necessity of the case, at a moment when we were not altogether in a situation, consistent with the safety of the measure entrusted to us, to decide merely upon the personal merits of those who had the means to forward or impede it. The number of applications to which you have been exposed as the result of that measure have enabled you to judge of the embarrassment under which we acted."

Castlereagh, however, thought there was no escape in honour from the promise of promotion held out to Grady. The post which Grady desired was that of a judge, but as a compromise he was willing to accept the position of counsel to the Commissioners of the Revenue. In June, 1802, Marsden, the Under-Secretary, was directed to send a friend to Grady to ascertain whether he would be willing to relinquish his claim to this legal office in return for a civil appointment of equal value. Grady, who by no means shared in the general opinion that he was unsuited for the office of counsel to the Board of Revenue, and was besides a man of violent temper, rejected these overtures in language unfit, certainly, for the ears of the pious Viceroy. Marsden thus reports the result of the interview:

"The person employed by me to communicate with him, had from me a statement in writing of the excessive difficulties which lay in the way of Mr. Grady's promotion in this line, and my strong recommendation that in prudence he should yield to them. I further stated that

in such case he should have a seat at the Revenue Board, and a pension of £300 a year for his wife, or in case he thought proper to retire from the Bar, that he should have a Revenue situation at Belfast of £1,500 a year, and a pension in like manner as in the other case. This latter proposal I was able to make by Mr. Jocelyn having offered his situation for a seat at the Revenue Board.

"Mr. Grady, it seems, has rejected this offer with very strong expressions of displeasure, and has declared that he will not accept of anything collateral to his profession in lieu of the engagement made to him; that beside his claim upon the first agreement he was urged to accept the place of Counsel to the Commissioners, when, a few months ago, he was in London, to which he assented, though such a situation was below what he had been told he was entitled to. At a second interview with my friend, Mr. Grady talked in a still higher tone, with some personal observations as to some of the parties concerned in making this overture to him, which nearly precludes a further attempt at negotiation."

"I think, as it stands," says Marsden in conclusion, "there is nothing left but to appoint Mr. Grady second Counsel to the Commissioners, and to trust to making an agreement hereafter by which he shall have an efficient coadjutor, or to signify to him without explanation that it is the determination of His Majesty's Ministers that his appointment is not to take place."

At this time there was a puisne judgeship of the Court of King's Bench vacant. Osborne, first counsel to the Commissioners of the Revenue—a Union appointment—was promoted to the Bench; and Ormsby, the second counsel—another Union appointment—succeeded to Osborne's place. This was Grady's opportunity, and he was not found wanting. Writing to the Viceroy from York Street, Dublin, in July, 1802, he says he had learned from Osborne that he had been elevated to the Bench in succession to Judge Chamberlain.

"I thought," says he, "that as a matter of course the announcement of my appointment as counsel to the Board of Revenue would be made at the same time. I

waited upon Mr. Marsden," he continues, "who informed me that he had not as yet received any directions from your Excellency for my appointment, and as far as I could collect from him, seemed to make some difficulty as to the succession to that office. Knowing as your Excellency does how long I have been postponed, I trust your Excellency will not permit any further procrastination of my appointment."

He got the office, and fared better than he had expected. His engagement was for £1,000 per annum. "This was effected," it is amusing to read in the note to the case in the Union engagements, "by his appointment to be second counsel to the Commissioners of Revenue, a place which, upon explanation, is worth double the engagement."

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The appointment of Grady as counsel to the Commissioners of the Revenue had disastrous consequences to William Johnson, as is shown by the following letter from Hardwicke to Castlereagh :

"*Private.*

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*June* 26, 1805.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I shall be very happy if it is in my power to enable you to answer the letter which you have received from Mr. William Johnson, whose engagement I trust you will do me the justice to believe I was from the first as desirous of fulfilling as any of those which devolved to me from Lord Cornwallis, and which I have from the first endeavoured to satisfy in the best manner that the means of Government would admit. Mr. William Johnson's engagement, which was for legal promotion, was rendered more difficult by his pretensions to the Bench and to the office of Solicitor-General, which, though given to Mr. M'Clelland—who had also a legal engagement—is certainly an office in the disposal of which it seemed necessary to look to the service of the Government, and the general satisfaction of the Bar, as well as the higher judicial situations to which that office may eventually lead.

"The situation which would have best suited the engagement, and which would, I apprehend, have been entirely satisfactory, was that of Counsel to the Commissioners, and if I had been left at liberty to adhere to the engagement to Mr. Grady, which, as stated in writing, was for a Thousand Pounds per annum, generally, the arrangement might have been settled for Mr. Johnson. But Mr. Grady was permitted to amend his engagement as delivered to me by Lord Cornwallis and your Lordship, and, amongst other assurances, obtained an admission in writing from Mr. Cooke by which it was explained to be a promise of the first legal situation (of whatever value) which became vacant after three persons had received legal advancement, dating from the time the engagement had been made by Lord Cornwallis's Government. Under this interpretation of Mr. Grady's engagement it became impossible to appoint Mr. William Johnson to the situation of Counsel to the Commissioners, and hence arose all the embarrassment which has since arisen in regard to Mr. Johnson's engagement."

* * *

The contest between the arrogant J. S. Grady and the meek and humble Arthur Browne as place-hunters is not without its amusing side. Prime Serjeant Browne was among the applicants for the position on the Bench rendered vacant by the death of Judge Chamberlain. Here is his letter to the Viceroy:

"The place which I have the honour of holding under the Government, and which has been usually, though I cannot say necessarily, considered as a step to the Bench, will, I hope, excuse me from presumption, whatever may be the event. My present time of life, the mortification of being passed by, which, perhaps, may be termed humiliation, and various other circumstances, more proper in conversation than in letter, will further plead my apology. But unless any humble pretensions of mine be supported by merits, and the opinion of my brethren, they can go but very little way. Those humble pretensions I can only submit, I hope with modesty, leaving their consideration, with the most profound respect, to the wisdom of his Excellency,

from whom the favours and kindnesses I have received will always be most gratefully and feelingly acknowledged."

The Viceroy was a very moral and a deeply religious man. Browne was not only very humble, but, like the Lord Lieutenant, he was very religious and very moral. While on circuit in 1802 he wrote to Hardwicke expressing regret that he had been unable to see his Excellency before leaving Dublin.

"I did wish also," he says, "to have the honour of mentioning privately to your Excellency an indecorum which universally prevails on the Circuits of travelling, and being absent, consequently, from church, on Sundays; but as it cannot be altered during the present, I will defer mentioning my humble ideas to your Excellency until my return."

A year elapsed, and in July, 1803, there was another vacancy on the Judicial Bench. Kilwarden, the Lord Chief Justice, was murdered in Thomas Street on his way to the Castle, the night of Emmet's insurrection. Browne still hopes that his ambition for a place on the Bench may be gratified, and is still very humble.

"Of my fitness for Judicial situation it doth not become me to speak. That a stable settlement less laborious than the Bar must at my period of life be desirable is certain. But whatever be the determination on this subject I hope your Excellency will allow me ever to acknowledge your Excellency's constant kindness and condescending politeness to me, and to testify my extreme gratitude and respect."

Again Browne was passed over. Mr. Justice Downes was made Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Baron St. George Daly—a Union appointment—was made a Judge of the King's Bench, James M'Clelland, the Solicitor-General—another Union appointment—was made a Baron of the Court of Exchequer, and William Conyngham Plunket succeeded to the Solicitor-Generalship.

Even in his sore disappointment Browne did not cease to be humble. He wrote as follows to the Lord Lieutenant :

"*Sept. 14th*, 1803.

"My Lord,

"I hope your Excellency, if you should think the application I am about to make improper, will at least pardon it in the present wounded state of my mind. Whenever this country shall have the misfortune of losing your Excellency, I am apprehensive that I shall not longer have any political friends here, that any person will be preferred to me, and that I shall have only to go back to Parliament, and rest upon myself. Under these impressions it is not unnatural to ask favours while your Excellency is here, and before the transactions of 1800 are quite forgotten. I need not add that I have not the presumption to expect any immediate answer from your Excellency, or to wish anything more at present than that the request should be taken into consideration.

"The place of Prime Serjeant has always been considered by the Bar in this country, it being first in precedence if not in consequence of the Crown Law Offices, as giving a kind of preceding title to the Bench, at least so far as to put in an inferior light the person passed over. It also has generally been attended with a seat in the Privy Council. Not being successful in the former, I own if at any time during your Excellency's Administration I were thought worthy of the latter it would be extremely gratifying, provided it did not interfere with any future prospects of the Bench. Having simply presumed, and I hope humbly, to express my wishes on the subject, I shall not trouble your Excellency further than only to express the great and deep sense I always entertain of the personal kindness I have received from your Excellency, and to subscribe myself, with the most profound respect,

"Your Excellency's most obliged and most obedient servant,

"Arthur Browne."

More than a year later Browne again writes to the Lord Lieutenant as a disappointed servant of the Crown :

"*December 3rd*, 1804.

"My Lord,

"Finding that I did not fully and clearly express my ideas when I last was permitted to have the honor of

an interview with your Excellency, I hope that your Excellency will pardon me for referring to a paper which fully express'd them, deliver'd to your Excellency about twelve months since, and now I believe in the hands of Sir Evan Nepean.

"I certainly myself have always conceiv'd that the Government of Ireland was bound in honor, after I lost my seat in Parliament by their means, and even by the strongest implications from their language at and after the time, to put me on the Bench; and that even if it had not been so, that being Prime Serjeant, and my conduct tried upon five circuits, that my humble claims had a preference; and surely I would never have accepted the place had I foreseen its mortifications, knowing the expectations which the Bar have always annex'd to the place. I did humbly hope also that tho' the Chancellor might have a negative, that Government would be so good to propose or mention me to him, as he inform'd me was done on the last occasion.

"If, however, your Excellency thinks that the present Administration of Ireland has nothing to do with the language of the former, I hope that your Excellency will not be displeased with my humbly representing to the Minister and Lord Cornwallis, then in power, how I think I stood with respect to them.

"I should not presume to be so troublesome to your Excellency did I not feel that I have some enemies—tho' I do not think I ever in my life gave cause for enmity—who would be equally busy on any other occasion in making objections to me. Thus if the Provostship was vacant, and my senior pass'd over, it would be said that I sought it politically, and that I was a layman, tho' my humble pretensions would be grounded on being the next senior as a Fellow, and on a strenuous denial of the extraordinary position that a lay Fellow is not entitled to the same privileges with every other.*

* At this time there was a rumour that Dr. Kearney, the Provost of Trinity College, was to be promoted to a bishopric on the next vacancy, and that he was to be succeeded as head of the College by Dr. Browne. The Rev. Gerald Fitzgerald, the Vice-Provost, sent a petition to the Lord Lieutenant expressing the anxious hope that this slight to his position and character was not in contemplation. He pointed out that the statutes of the College ordained that the Provost must be a Professor or at least a Bachelor of Divinity, and consequently that Browne was ineligible. "Your memorialist," says Dr. Fitzgerald in

"To your Excellency, personally, I must always acknowledge the greatest obligations, and feel the highest gratitude; but I fear, however it may turn out for the country, that the most unlucky day of my life will have been that on which I voted for the Union.

"I have the honor to be, with the greatest and most humble respect, your Excellency's much oblig'd and very obedient humble servant,

"ARTHUR BROWNE."

Browne died in June, 1805, with his ambition for a judgeship unsatisfied. The Irish Administration abolished the office of Prime Serjeant, and appointed instead a first Serjeant—besides the second and the third Serjeants which were already in existence—as in England, giving precedence over him to the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General. The Lord Lieutenant, writing on June 11, 1805, to Hawkesbury, says:

"The office has been established for many years upon its present footing, and in former times, when it might have enabled His Majesty's Government to gratify the professional gentlemen of weight and talents, the advantage may have been more than adequate to the inconvenience which must occasionally have arisen from it. The offices of Attorney and Solicitor General are, of course, conferred upon lawyers of eminence and ability, and necessarily lead to higher and more important professional situations, and it is therefore desirable that they should take the lead in all Crown prosecutions. This, however, they could not do so long as the office of Prime Serjeant existed; and for this reason, as because at present the Prime Serjeant is first in turn as a circuit Judge, I think it will be right to abolish it. Upon a point of this description I have, of course, consulted with the Lord Chancellor, who advises strongly that the office should not be filled up. I also understand from his Lordship that the Bar will be inclined to approve of this resolution; and in a case of this description it is satisfactory to know the opinion of those who are able to form a proper judgment upon the subject."

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conclusion, "who has been many years a Doctor of Divinity, is conscious that his character, whether considered in a *moral* or a *political* point of view, will bear the strictest scrutiny, and that his attachment to the King and Constitution is too well known to require any comment or observation."

The Home Secretary, in his reply, dated June 17, 1805, says:

"I have communicated with his Majesty's confidential servants upon the subject, and I beg to inform your Excellency that from the explanation you have given respecting the nature and circumstances of that appointment they entirely concur in the arrangement which your Excellency has proposed."

Dr. Arthur Browne was, therefore, the last of the Prime Serjeants of Ireland.

* * *

Sir James Chatterton, the second Serjeant, applied to the Lord Lieutenant for the new post of first Serjeant. Just a year earlier, in July, 1804, he sent a petition to his Excellency setting out his claim to a seat on the Judicial Bench. It begins, "That he was for sixteen years, as a member of the Irish Parliament, the zealous and constant supporter of His Majesty's Government," and then goes on:

"It may be asked why he did not go into the Union Parliament The answer is that in the year 1791 he purchased from the late Sir Barry Denny and his son a seat in the borough of Tralee for that Parliament, for which he paid a thousand guineas, but by their deaths in the intermediate time he lost both his seat and money.

"That by that loss he was prevented from giving a Parliamentary support to the measure of the Union, but his wishes in the subject were evident by the part he took in the D'Oyer Hundred Court at Cork, where he voted for and was one of the Committee who proposed the address presented to the Government on that occasion, certainly attended with very useful consequences.

"That Sir James's only object in attending his Profession is the attainment of a seat on the Bench, which he trusts his long and faithful service to the King's Government, the high approbation he has constantly met with as a circuit judge, his rank and property in the country, and, he hopes he may venture to add, his respectability of character both in public and private life may be supposed to entitle him to.

"That he begs leave to observe that in the event of his

professional advancement, your Excellency will have the disposal of the two places which he has the honor of now holding under Government—the Paper Office, an honorable sinecure of £500 a year on the Establishment, and the place of the King's second Serjeant at Law, the fourth in the rank at the Irish Bar, attended with many advantages to a professional man, and from the opportunities of going the circuits reasonably estimated at £500 a year more.

"Now, in reference to the post of first Serjeant, Sir James Chatterton submits to the Lord Lieutenant his right to it in the natural course of succession, having filled the place of third Serjeant, and being the second Serjeant."

But there was then another claimant of the office in William Johnson, who was supported by a letter from Castlereagh, dated "London, 17th June, 1805," urging his title to promotion on account of his services to the cause of the Union.

"My wishes upon this point," says Castlereagh, "are entirely governed by a sense of personal duty to him for the part he took upon that great question, never having had any personal intercourse with him which could create a more partial sentiment. This tie, however, entitles him to my most earnest solicitation in his behalf, and I am persuaded your Lordship will be disposed to extend to him the same measure of favour and protection which you have already in so many instances done to the supporters of the Union."

That Chatterton failed to get the office is, therefore, not surprising; and his feelings of disappointment find vent in the following letter to the Lord Lieutenant:

"GREAT GEORGE STREET, SOUTH,
"*June* 29, 1805.

"MY LORD,

"I beg leave with great respect to state to your Excellency that having received from the Lord Chancellor the honor of a letter, in which he is so good to say that he is sorry to learn from myself, as well as from your Excellency, that I am disappointed in consequence of the arrangements proposed to be made upon the vacancy of the office of Prime Serjeant, and that his Lordship trusted with my ample fortune and considering the state of my health I would not, upon reflection, be disposed much to

blame those arrangements; and also mentioning the salaries intended to be paid to the different Serjeants, however that the salary could be no object to me, I have in my answer stated to his Lordship (as I now beg leave to state to your Excellency) that in returning his Lordship my best thanks for the honor of his letter, it would be doing injustice to my own feelings, if I did not express my deep sorrow and regret in finding it to be the intention of the Government to pass by, in the arrangement about to take place, the pretensions of an old and faithful servant. That his Lordship does no more than justice in conceiving that the question of emolument is not the consideration which would weigh upon my mind. My fortune, which his Lordship is so good to call an ample one, would prevent the necessity of my making that a principal object of pursuit. That it is rank in that Profession of which his Lordship is the head is my object, and I trust I may call it the legitimate object to which I have thought myself justified in looking forward; and having been in the habit of discharging the duties of a circuit judge in almost every part of Ireland, not discreditably to myself nor to his Majesty's Commission, it could not fail to hurt me deeply that in whatever arrangements may be thought necessary my humble claims had not been fortunate enough to have met the favourable consideration to which I trusted I might have conceived them entitled. And that on the score of my health I should feel no disqualification from undertaking the discharge of the duties of any professional situation for which the Government may do me the honor of considering me to be fitted.

"These matters I presume to lay before your Excellency, hoping you will be so good to pardon the trouble you have received."

* * *

Another lawyer who thought his services to the Union had been very ill requited was Edmund Stanley. Pelham wrote to Hardwicke as early as July, 1802, stating that Stanley had complained to him that he had been removed from the office of Prime Serjeant "with more speed than the public service seemed to require," and that had more time been allowed him he might have made an arrangement with his creditors. Stanley also asked Pelham, who, it will be remembered, was Chief Secretary during the

Rebellion of 1798, to bear testimony to the Viceroy of his loyalty and zeal in the public service. "This request I feel myself bound to comply with," says Pelham, "and I must fairly state to your Excellency that if his reputation for talent and professional experience had been equal to his loyalty and public spirit he would certainly have been advanced to higher situations."

In August, 1803, Stanley, still hoping to obtain another legal appointment, wrote a long letter to the Viceroy in which he recounted his services to the State, and told a curious story of his pitiable condition owing to the machinations of disloyal enemies. He had been thirteen years in the Irish House of Commons, during which he had most faithfully supported all the measures of the Government. His pecuniary embarrassments were entirely due to the large sums of money he had expended (he does not say how) in the interest of the Irish Executive, and to the fact that he had received no return until his appointment as Prime Serjeant after the Union had been carried. The position to which he had succeeded Arthur Browne at the Board of Accounts—in exchange for the office of Prime Serjeant—he had sold for £5,000. He would have received more if "the respectable gentleman" whom he had nominated to be his successor in the office, and who was prepared to give him "a substantial sum," had been accepted; but £5,000 was all he was able to obtain from the person sanctioned by the Government. He offered to hand over this money in satisfaction of some of the claims of his creditors, and for the payment of the remainder to pledge the future expectations and resources of his profession. Then he goes on:

"But though all fair and honourable men agreed to this proposal, yet I am sorry to say I have too good reason to believe that some persons in Dublin, who have got possession of my securities, combine against me, and not only refuse all amicable arrangement, but declare nothing will satisfy them but to deprive me of my liberty for ever. Some of my friends inform me that it is revenge these persons want and not their money; and the principal

man who acts so I have long considered far from friendly to the Government or their measures. He will listen to no fair or honourable terms, or to anything short of my ruin ; and, in fact, by such hostile conduct has defeated all arrangement. No doubt can now be entertained that such a spirit exists in Dublin ; and no question that some of the disaffected have made use of the power they have got over me to persecute me.

" Who made himself more obnoxious to the enemies of Government, or took a more open and conspicuous part against them, both as prosecutor, and afterwards in the discharge of my duties as a judge, than I did for ten years before the Union ? The histories of the late Rebellion record how often my life was in danger, and my house destroyed in Dublin. It is well known how often I was held forth in the anti-Union papers, during that measure, as an object of resentment, and my creditors in Dublin excited against me. These vindictive resolutions have had their effect. They did not, indeed, succeed in taking away my life (though it was attempted) ; but am I not deprived of everything worth living for—my liberty, profession, the comfort of my family and friends, and every other enjoyment ? I can never persuade myself that it is the intention of Government (after carrying their objects) to desert a friend who worked hard in their service for thirteen years, and leave him exposed to the malice and vengeance of his enemies."

But all the appeals of Stanley to the Viceroy were in vain. The last one, which he sent from London in January, 1806, was that he and his daughter should be given reversionary interests in his wife's pension on the Irish Establishment, a request which his Excellency said he was powerless to grant.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CATHOLICS AND THE UNION

THE Catholics of Dublin were unquestionably opposed to the Union. But it is impossible to arrive at any positive conclusion as to the attitude of the great mass of the Catholics in the provinces from a study of the annals of the period, so contradictory are they on the point. There was no means by which the Catholics of the provinces could, as a body, express their opinion on any public question, except the uncertain and unsatisfactory method of petition; and Catholics were represented equally in petitions for and against the Union. Probably their state of mind was that of indifference. This, however, is beyond question, that the leading Catholic prelates and gentry—a small but influential group, who were regarded as the representatives of the general body, and had hitherto given expression to their views and feelings on questions affecting their religion and social status—were strongly in favour of the Union. The three most conspicuous personages in this group were Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, the Earl of Fingall, and Lord Kenmare. They had long been in the close confidence of Dublin Castle, and it was through them that Cornwallis and Castlereagh endeavoured to secure Catholic support for the Union. The Government were extremely anxious to conciliate Catholic feelings on the subject, as is shown by "The Cornwallis Correspondence," but it is notable that in the long List of Union Engagements which Cornwallis left to his successor to discharge there are only four Catholics. These are Mr. Bellew, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Donellan, and Mr. McKenna—all barristers.

No doubt there were Catholics among those supporters of the Government who immediately received rewards for their services during the struggle on the question of the Union. Indeed, that such was the case is established, I think, by some letters which I have found in the Viceroy's Post-bag. Here, for example, is a letter from Archbishop Troy to the Lord Lieutenant:

"NORTH KING STREET, DUBLIN,
"*28th June*, 1802.

"MY LORD,

"Two years have elapsed since my nephew, John James Troy, was appointed Tide Surveyor at Queensboro', near Drogheda, by Marquis Cornwallis, who had named him a Landwaiter at Waterford, but afterwards deemed it expedient to give this place to another at the recommendation of the Marquis of Waterford. Sir E. B. Littlehales and Mr. Marsden witnessed this transaction, and Lord Cornwallis's declaration to me—'that Government would not fail to remedy my nephew's disappointment, by removing him to a more lucrative and respectable situation.'

"The Surveyorship at Queensboro' does not produce more, *communibus annis*, than £150 per annum, exclusive of a house and garden. The Landwaitership at Waterford is stated to be of quadruple value. I presume to state these circumstances under the hope and expectation that they will recommend my nephew to your Excellency's notice and consideration. The Commissioners of his Majesty's Revenue and the Hon. Colonel Napier will certify his character and conduct.

"I need not add how gratefully I shall acknowledge your Excellency's attention to his advancement, nor the profound respect with which I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Excellency's most obedient, most humble, and devoted servant,

"J. T. TROY."

Archbishop Troy writes again to the Viceroy on June 23, 1804, pressing his nephew's claim to promotion. He refers to a rumour that a landwaiter at Dublin was about to retire, and suggests that perhaps an opportunity would thereby arise for removing his nephew from Queensborough to the capital. It is curious

to note that the Lord Lieutenant, replying to the Archbishop, addresses him as "Sir." His Excellency says he fears there is little likelihood of a more eligible situation for John James Troy arising through the resignation of the Dublin landwaiter.

"But," he goes on, "though it is difficult to fix any precise time, or any specific object, I will certainly not overlook an opportunity of carrying out your wishes whenever it shall be fairly within my power."

In January, 1806, on the eve of Hardwicke's departure from Ireland, Archbishop Troy once more addresses the Lord Lieutenant on the subject of the advancement of his nephew. He encloses a letter he received from his nephew, who had just been promoted from Queensborough to Castletownsend, co. Cork. The nephew is not satisfied with his new position, because he finds its income has been considerably reduced. He says:

"As the time approaches when we are no longer to have the happiness of being under Lord Hardwicke's kindly care, I feel anxious that his Excellency might be reminded to recommend me to the protection of his successor, in the hope of being removed to a situation not so remote from my friends, when an opportunity shall offer, particularly as the Custom House here, which is a large building, is in a very ruinous state that could not be made habitable until the summer should be advanced; and in the interim I shall be under the necessity of residing in very inconvenient and uncomfortable lodgings in this village."

Archbishop Troy, in forwarding his nephew's letter to the Lord Lieutenant, writes:

"North King Street, Dublin,
"*21st January*, 1806.

"My Lord,

"I take the liberty of enclosing a letter to me from my nephew, and humbly solicit the favour he requests. Your Excellency's gracious acquiescence will confer an additional obligation on his family in general, and on myself in particular, for which all will be ever grateful. Permit me to add to his representation, that

another situation of equal rank in the Revenue Department at the Custom House, Dublin, would be perfectly agreeable to him. His present residence among strangers, at the distance of nearly two hundred miles from his family and connections, is rather unsatisfactory. It is principally on this account that he wishes to be removed from it.

"I cannot but avail myself of this opportunity to express my own and the general regret at your Excellency's approaching departure from this country, where the happy effects of your exemplary virtues and consummate prudence in the Administration of His Majesty's Government are strongly felt and will be long remembered. May your Excellency continue to enjoy during many happy years the enviable satisfaction of reflecting that you had tempered justice with mercy and firmness with moderation.

"Allow me, my Lord, to renew the unfeigned assurances of profound respect and grateful attachment, with which I have the honour to be, my Lord,

"Your Excellency's most obliged, most devoted, and very humble servant,

* * * "J. T. TROY."

Then there is Lord Kenmare. Sir Valentine Browne, Bart., of Killarney, was raised to the peerage as Viscount Kenmare for his loyal services in 1798.

"Among the many engagements which I have been obliged to contract in the event of the success of the measure of a legislative Union," says Cornwallis, writing in 1799, "I have promised to use my utmost influence to obtain an earldom for Lord Kenmare."

He appears as Earl of Kenmare in the Union peerage promotions and creations of December, 1800. On October 19, 1802, he sent from Killarney the following curious communication to Lord Hardwicke, which shows that he received other rewards for his services besides a promotion in the Peerage:

"I feel encouraged by your Excellency's very great kindness and attention on a former occasion, to take the liberty of troubling you once more with an application

on a subject in which Lady Kenmare and myself are, indeed, greatly interested. It relates to Mr. Aylmer, my brother-in-law, whom I had the honour of introducing to your Excellency at Killarney. He is half-brother to Lady Kenmare, and, though of one of the most eminent and respectable families of this country, and entitled to a very large fortune by birth, finds himself bereft of all those hopes by the irreparable derangement of his father's affairs, which has rendered indispensably requisite the sale of a very fine place in the county of Kildare, called Lyons, and the entire of the family estate in that county, to the amount of from four to five thousand pounds a year.

"Those unfortunate circumstances first induced me to make an application in his behalf to Lord Camden, who was so kind as to appoint him to a small employment at the Custom House, which his lordship then supposed to be worth about £220 (pounds) a year, but which, by subsequent arrangements, has not produced quite £100 (pounds) a year. On a further application the Marquis Cornwallis was pleased to join Mr. Aylmer in an appointment with Sir Boyle Roche to the place of Surveyor of the River Kenmare, which I understand to be worth £300 a year, which Sir Boyle enjoys the whole of for his life. The favour I have to ask of your Excellency is that on Mr. Aylmer resigning his place at the Custom House, which is worth so little, you will please to appoint him to a place of higher emolument which he may be able to retain together with the Surveyorship of the River Kenmare at Sir Boyle's death; or else to grant him something at present equal to the produce of the two employments he would resign—the joint appointment to the River Kenmare, with the place at the Custom House. From the knowledge I have of your Excellency's way of thinking, and knowing also Mr. Aylmer's delicacy, I need not say that I should not wish him to hold any situation but such as would be quite consistent with his birth connections."

The Lord Lieutenant, in reply, says he consulted Mr. Wickham, the Chief Secretary, as to whether his lordship's wishes with respect to Mr. Aylmer could be satisfied; but unfortunately there were then no means of doing so at their disposal.

"I can only say, therefore," he goes on, "that I shall be very anxious for the moment when I may be at liberty to offer Mr. Aylmer some situation of that description consistent with the views your Lordship has for him. Your Lordship must be aware that it is not in my power to speak with certainty as to the time."

* * *

There were also Catholics who were promised rewards for their services to the Union, but by some mistake or oversight were omitted from the official List of Engagements. That fact is established by the following significant letter from Cornwallis to Hardwicke shortly after the arrival of the latter as Viceroy in Dublin, and while he was striving to arrive, with much bitterness of mind, at a complete conception of the Union engagements by which his patronage was mortgaged:

"CULFORD,
"*July* 19, 1801.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"It has been a matter of much mortification to me that your Excellency has been troubled by some inaccuracies in the statement of my engagements; but from what you must have seen of the pressing mode of solicitation on your side of the water, you will easily conceive the distraction which those in the Government must have felt during the anxious period while the great measure of the Union was in suspense; and will, I hope, make some allowances for the confused manner in which the promises have been brought forward.

"I trust, however, that every omission has now been completely explained, except the claim of Mr. Myles Keon for some provision for his son.* This gentleman

* Myles Keon is mentioned in Wolfe Tone's "Memoirs." Before 1792 Catholic affairs were managed by a general committee, Tone being secretary, which was a self-appointed Dublin body, and not nominated by the Catholics of the nation. "It is to the sagacity of Myles Keon, of Keonbrook, co. Leitrim," says Tone, "that his country is indebted for the system on which the general committee was to be framed anew in a manner that should render it impossible to bring it again in doubt whether that body were or not the organ of the Catholic will. His plan was to associate to the committee, as then constituted, two members from each county and great city, actual residents of the place which they

was supposed to have considerable influence with the Catholics in the county of Roscommon, and as both the members for that county had on the first discussion voted against the Union, and one of them (Colonel Mahon) was disposed on the second struggle to take a less hostile part, I felt it to be a matter of great consequence that we should make a good figure, either in the meeting, or in the signatures of the freeholders. I perfectly recollect, on his promising to exert himself, that he had an assurance of some provision for his son, but he neglected afterwards to remind me of it, and the circumstance escaped my recollection.

"His views are, I believe, very moderate; but if it should not suit your Excellency to accommodate him in any manner during your Administration, I should hope that you would allow him to stand over as claimant upon Government.

"I have the honour to be, with great regard,

"Your most obedient and faithful servant,

"CORNWALLIS."

* * *

I shall now deal with the cases of the Catholics actually on the List of Union Engagements. There is William Bellew, the younger son of Sir Patrick Bellew, Bart., a member of an old and distinguished Catholic family in Louth. He was one of the first Catholics who joined the Irish Bar, when the legal profession was opened to Catholics by the Relief Act of 1793. At the Bar debate on the question of the Union in December, 1799, Grady, a Protestant lawyer—whose name appears on the List of Union Engagements, and with whose strange case I have already dealt in the chapter on "The Lawyers and the Union"—declared that the Catholics desired the Union. The assertion was contradicted by Bellew. The Catholics, said he, had not yet begun seriously to consider the question, and as yet had formed no decided opinion about it. That, indeed, exactly described Bellew's own condition

represented, who were, however, only to be summoned upon extraordinary occasions, leaving the common routine of business to the original members, who, as I have already related, were all residents of Dublin."

of mind. Later on, as we learn from "The Cornwallis Correspondence," he was with difficulty restrained from moving a resolution hostile to the Union at a meeting of the Catholic gentry held in Lord Fingall's Dublin house. He subsequently had several interviews with Cornwallis, which resulted in his making up his mind that the Union was most essential in the interest of the Catholics, the promise of a Chairmanship of Quarter Sessions helping him, no doubt, to that conclusion.

There is a curious note to his case in the List of Union Engagements.

"This gentleman," writes Hardwicke, "is a son of Sir Patrick Bellew, of the county Louth, a Roman Catholick, and it was, therefore, thought very desirable to commute this engagement, as he looked to the fulfilment of it in the county of Louth, where the appointment would have been very obnoxious to all the Protestant gentlemen."

As a matter of fact, the Chairmanship of Louth fell vacant, and the Irish Government proposed to appoint Bellew, in fulfilment of the engagement; but they yielded —despite the strong protest of Castlereagh—to a petition from the Protestant magistrates of the county, declaring that if Bellew were appointed to the office they would refuse to act with him.

* * *

In the "Pension" section of the Union engagements will be found the entry: "Mr. M'Kenna—£300 a year for his literary services." Theobald M'Kenna, a lawyer of considerable influence in Catholic circles, wrote one of the first pamphlets in favour of the Union, entitled "Memoir on Questions respecting the projected Union," and was appointed by the Government to superintend the publication and distribution of the literature issued to influence public opinion in favour of their scheme. On October 13, 1801, he writes to Abbot, the Chief Secretary, in a state of apprehension about his promised pension. The four Administrations which successively ruled Ireland from 1793 to 1800, he says, had each,

unsolicited by him, called for his services "in the cause of civil society and good government."

"But the affair of the Union," he adds, "constitutes the ground on which my claim, at least to a certain extent, is beyond all question irresistible. You know that, in consequence of application made to me, I gave up my time and trouble to the cultivation of that question. If contributing nearly as much as any other person to render that transaction palatable to the public, and to extend the credit of it, be a service to the Government, that service I must say I rendered. A positive engagement was made to me."

This letter would seem to suggest that the Union pensions were unpaid until they were regularly placed on the Irish Establishment. But, as a matter of fact, that was not so. New pensions on the Irish Establishment could be created in each financial year only to the amount of £1,200. But, meantime, until the pensions "passed"—as the proper phrase had it—"the Great Seal," the pensions were paid out of another fund. That fund is indicated in a letter which Abbot, the Chief Secretary, sent from London to Hardwicke, the Viceroy, shortly after the latter arrived in Ireland in 1801, informing him of the arrangements which were being made for the discharge of the Union engagements.

"The money," he says, "for engagements of the Union, as authorized to be taken out of the privy purse, to be settled between Mr. Pitt and Lord Castlereagh."

Further light is thrown on the subject by the letter written by the Lord Lieutenant to Hawkesbury, Home Secretary, dated September 26, 1804, which I give fully in the chapter dealing with the List of Union Engagements.

"The greater part of those upon the different lists who had not actual engagements for specific offices," says the Viceroy in that letter, "received the amount of their engagements from a fund in which I had no concern, and of which I was entirely ignorant at the time I received the papers. The fund for these money payments has, I understand, been partly supplied from his Majesty's privy purse."

I think this shows that not only were the pensions paid out of the King's privy purse until they were placed on the Irish Establishment, but also the amounts of the salaries promised in cases where, as Lord Hardwicke says, there were no actual engagements for specific offices. Take the case of another Catholic on the List of Union Engagements. "Mr. Donellan, brother to Lady Fingall," we read—"Promised £300 a year; recommended by Lord Fingall." In this instance no particular office is mentioned; and Donellan, accordingly, received £300 a year until he was appointed to an office in the Customs. "As a Roman Catholic," says Hardwicke in his note to the case, "I preferred giving him the office of Customs of Waterford to making him an assistant barrister." Donellan, desiring to retain the pension as well as the post, enlisted the good offices of Lord Dunlo, for I find the following letter was written by Hardwicke to Dunlo on April 9, 1803:

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I requested Mr. Wickham to make my excuse to you for having delayed to acknowledge your letter recommending Mr. Donellan for some situation equal in value to that of Commissioner of Appeals or a Chairman of Sessions, and to explain to you not only the cause of the delay, but the manner in which I was already circumstanced in regard to this engagement.

"I was not at first quite certain whether he was the same person to whom an expectation of provision had been held out during Lord Cornwallis's Administration, and to whom I was in some degree already pledged. Finding he was the same gentleman, I did not think it fair to claim a merit with your Lordship to which I was not entirely entitled, though the manner in which you interested yourself in his favour was an inducement to me to make him an early offer in preference to others. An opportunity occurred precisely at that time, and I am happy to find that the situation which was offered to him of Customs of Waterford and Ross, vacant by the death of Mr. Crosbie, has proved acceptable to Mr. Donellan, on account of its being compatible with his profession, and not requiring residence in any particular part of the country."

Lord Dunlo, writing on April 18, 1803, from the Terrace, Spring Gardens, London, to the Lord Lieutenant, says :

" Mr. Donellan in his application to me had informed me that he was in possession of some pension from the Irish Government, and was desirous that through my means the situation of Commissioner of Appeals, Chairman of Sessions of Meath or Louth, or some other employment of equal value compatible with his profession might be obtained for him, in addition to the income he then enjoyed. It was for this reason, and with this view, that my request was made to your Excellency that the situation sought by me for him at your Excellency's hands should be in addition to his present income.

" Mr. Donellan, however, fearing lest compliance with the application made by me in his favour should deprive him of the income he already enjoyed under your Excellency's Government, and thereby leave him in no better plight than he formerly found himself, requested that I should explain the matter in such wise as to guard against any mistake.

" Actuated as well by private friendship (of which I must confess I cannot divest myself in this instance) as by public feelings, founded upon the exertions made through the influence of his family, in very trying times, in support of His Majesty's Government, and unwilling to be more than necessarily troublesome in my own person, I immediately applied to Mr. Wickham requesting that he would be the medium of expressing Mr. Donellan's fears, now become mine, to your Excellency. Mr. Wickham desired me to give him a note in writing upon the subject, and that he would transmit the substance of it. This was accordingly done about the middle of last month. The note stated my application to your Excellency, Mr. Donellan's fears, and my wishes that your Excellency's intentions in his favour might not divest him of any former provision from Government. Possibly Mr. Wickham may have forgotten to transmit the substance of this note, as he certainly has not recollected to deliver the kind message alluded to in your Excellency's letter to me. I, therefore, take the opportunity which the acknowledgment of the receipt of this last affords me to express my hopes and wishes that Mr. Donellan's fears may not be realized, and that the

benefit he has hitherto derived from the favour of Government may not be superseded by the recent grant made to him, the effect of which, as I am given to understand, would be to leave him in no better situation than that in which he found himself upon my application to your Excellency in his favour."

* * *

Sir Boyle Roche is mentioned in Lord Kenmare's letter which I give in this chapter. He reappears in another extraordinary letter to the Lord Lieutenant, signed "W. Crosbie," in which we see him in the receipt, quarterly, of the pension promised him before it was actually placed on the Irish Establishment. "Gentlemen may tither and tither and tither, and may think it a bad measure," said he, addressing the laughing Irish House of Commons in favour of the Union, "but when the day of judgment comes, then hon. gentlemen will see that this is a most excellent Union. Sir, there are no Levitical degrees between nations, and on this occasion I see neither sin nor shame in marrying our own sister." For uttering a few "bulls" in this fashion in support of the Union Sir Boyle Roche received a pension of £400 a year, in addition to the sinecure post—mentioned in Lord Kenmare's letter—of Surveyor of the River Kenmare, which he already possessed.

Crosbie's amazing communication shows the bargaining in Government offices and positions which went on in Ireland, with the sanction of the Executive, at the opening of the nineteenth century. The letter is written from 5, Gloucester Place, Portman Square, London, and is dated March 15, 1802. It was through the death of Crosbie that Donellan obtained the sinecure post of Customer of Waterford in 1803. Crosbie also held the sinecure of the Weighmastership at Cork, with a salary of £600 a year—the post which fell to Sir Vere Hunt. Moreover, Crosbie was Commissioner of Stamps in the Irish Department, with a salary of £500 a year. This post was not exactly a sinecure. However, all that he had to do to earn his £500 per annum, paid quarterly out of the

Irish Exchequer, was to go to Dublin occasionally to sign some official documents. But he detested that occasional journey. He wanted another sinecure under the Irish Government which would give him £500 per annum in London, without ever having to set foot in Ireland. He recalls to the Viceroy the fact that he spoke to his Excellency before he left for Ireland in 1801 about his desire to exchange his post in the Irish Stamp Department with Sir Boyle Roche for "a sinecure office." "That sinecure office," he subsequently found, "had been granted in reversion by Lord Cornwallis." It is not named, but it is easy to guess that the "sinecure office" is the Surveyorship of the Kenmare River, to which Aylmer, Lord Kenmare's brother-in-law, was to succeed on the death of Sir Boyle Roche. Crosbie then goes on:

"I mentioned to your Lordship at a late period when I was in Ireland, with great confidence in your good wishes, how material an object it would be for me to be relieved by some arrangement from the necessity of making frequent excursions to Ireland for the sole purpose of official attendance. Being conscious that I could not expect to be allowed to hold the situation I now do without discharging the necessary duties, I now trouble your Excellency to extend your approbation of an exchange which has been proposed to me by Sir Boyle Roche, who is to be provided for soon by a pension of £400 a year, and in the meantime receives one hundred pounds per quarter till his pension passes the Great Seal. He is ready to surrender his claim to me, and to take my office in exchange, provided such an arrangement shall be approved of by your Excellency. I do not hesitate in making this part of my request, because my office being £500 a year and Sir Boyle's pension only four, I think it rather to the advantage of Government to have a better thing on so bad a tenure as Sir Boyle's life.

"But it is to your feelings for a very old acquaintance that I must address myself to prevent my being a loser in point of income, which I should be to the amount of £100 a year. Having said this much of my wishes I ought to point out the mode with all deference, and shall merely suggest that I have the office of Customer of Waterford, the emoluments of which consist of small fees, but the

salary is only £14 a year. It has been customary under the same circumstances—that is, where there has been a wish to grant—to attach a certain salary to those sort of employments; and in my case £100 a year attached to the Customership of Waterford, in addition to the present £14, would secure me my present income, which is to the extent of my wishes.

"If through your Excellency I can accomplish this retreat, I shall feel myself most exceedingly indebted to you. Something of the kind is absolutely necessary to my comfort, for I wish to live in this country, but am too poor to give up such a place. I should feel very unhappy if I did not entertain sanguine hopes of accomplishing my object, either in the present instance or under some more favourable circumstances, during your Excellency's Administration; for if I do not succeed now, with friends on both sides of the water, I shall hereafter have little hope of a more favourable issue. I have conversed with Lord Pelham on the subject, who is my old and intimate friend, but I have too much reliance on your kindness to think his interference necessary."

The Lord Lieutenant is most obliging in his reply. "Dear Crosbie," he addresses his correspondent, "you may be sure I shall have great pleasure in assenting to any arrangement with regard to your office that may be at all practicable." He sympathizes fully with Crosbie's desire to enjoy his Irish salaries in London without having to undergo the discomfort of an occasional visit to Ireland. But was Crosbie sure that he was not doing himself an injustice in the arrangement he proposed with Sir Boyle Roche? If Sir Boyle were to "dye"—so his Excellency spells the word—before March 25, 1803, his pension could not be placed on the Irish Establishment. "Sir Boyle, between ourselves," his Excellency adds confidentially, "is not exactly the man I should have chosen by way of presenting to so publick and important an office as Commissioner of Stamps; but no objection will arise to his appointment, if you are satisfied with his security for the payments which he is entitled to receive until his pension of £400 is placed on the Establishment, and to accept the

risk arising from the contingency of his dyeing before this time twelvemonths."

I cannot say whether the arrangement was carried out, as there is no further correspondence in reference to it in the Viceroy's Post-bag. No doubt it was, as both parties were willing. Poor Crosbie's enjoyment in London of his many Irish sinecures was, sad to say, soon brought to an end, for the worthy man departed this life in March, 1803. As for Sir Boyle Roche—for whose shoes, as Surveyor of the Kenmare River, Aylmer, the brother-in-law of the Earl of Kenmare, was waiting—he lived until he died (as he would say himself) at his residence in Eccles Street, Dublin, on June 5, 1807.

* * *

The fourth Catholic on the List of Union Engagements is Mr. Lynch. He was promised the Chairmanship of the County of Galway "when vacant." I do not know whether Mr. Lynch ever received his reward; probably he did not, for the position was not vacant during the Viceroyalty of Hardwicke; and, as I shall show in my next article, the few Union engagements unfulfilled at the fall of Pitt's second Administration, and the return of the Whigs to power, were repudiated by the new Government. But the following correspondence between Matthew F. Lynch and Alexander Marsden, the Under-Secretary for Ireland, will be read with interest. It tells us how the first movement of the Catholics on behalf of Emancipation after the Union was quietly suppressed:

"GALWAY,
"*October* 20, 1803.

"SIR,

"A number of Roman Catholic gentlemen, of the first property and consequence in the county, having come to the determination of petitioning Parliament and addressing his Majesty on the subject of their claims, applied to me to prepare the address and petition intended to be proposed at the meeting to be convened on the 27th inst., according to public advertisement.

"Being unacquainted with the sentiments of the Irish Administration on the subject, I have evaded giving a

final answer until informed whether the discussion of so momentous a question at this crisis might not embarrass the other arrangements of His Majesty's Ministers. The situation in which I am placed by this application from persons of the highest respectability will, I trust, plead my excuse in trespassing on your important public concerns."

Marsden, writing from Dublin Castle on October 25, 1803, says :

" As I conceive your letter to be written merely to procure for your private satisfaction the information you desire to have, I can only communicate to you such opinion as I entertain myself on the subject, of which I shall certainly make no disguise, and I confess I have great doubts of the propriety at this period (which you so properly term a crisis) of agitating a question in a public assembly which might lead to a division of sentiment amongst men who are all disposed and all interested in supporting one common cause against the enemy of all Establishment and property in this country. If the address be lost many will be disappointed, and if it be carried as many may be displeased ; and we cannot at this time spare the heart and hand of a single member of the community.

" Pray consider this, and recommend to the friends of the measure the expediency of deferring to another season the discussion of points which are not particularly called for at the present crisis."

Lynch, replying on October 27, says :

" I had this day the honour of receiving your letter, and am happy to have it in my power to inform you that I have prevailed on the Roman Catholick gentlemen who attended the meeting this day to postpone the consideration of the question to a future indefinite period.

" I beg leave to return my particular thanks for the kind and obliging manner in which you have been pleased to communicate your sentiments to me on this subject. They have guided me on this occasion, and confirmed the opinion I entertained of the inexpediency of discussing any question at this important moment which might endanger the harmony of the country."

Over a year passes, and Lynch reappears in the Hardwicke correspondence. In a " private and confidential " letter dated December, 1804, from the Lord Lieutenant to Sir Evan Nepean, the Chief Secretary, there is the following passage :

" As to Mr. Lynch, I think he should have the £300 per annum till his engagement is satisfied. His engagement was made to him on account of his influence in Galway, where his services may still be useful, and I understand from Marsden that Mr. Lynch called to inquire whether he was likely to succeed in that object."

CHAPTER IX

THE DISTRIBUTION OF TITLES AND DIGNITIES

LONG as is the List of Union Engagements which Cornwallis left to be redeemed by his successor, the Post-bag of Lord Hardwicke makes it clear that there were, in addition, a large number of supporters of the Union in both Houses of the Irish Parliament, and of influential persons in the counties—laymen and ecclesiastics, Catholic and Protestant—active in promoting petitions in favour of the measure, who were promised offices, pensions, and titles, but whose cases were not entered on the official List, because, probably, they were not sufficiently persistent and clamorous in keeping themselves conspicuously before the Executive.

In July, 1801, shortly after the arrival of the Earl of Hardwicke as Viceroy in Ireland, the creation of several Irish baronets and knights was gazetted. It was the last of Cornwallis's personal payments of the titles and dignities which he had promised for aid rendered the Government in carrying the Act of Union. A few days after the announcement of these honours in the Irish newspapers the post brought the following indignant letter from Colonel Burton, one of the representatives of Clare in the Imperial Parliament, for which county he had sat also in the Irish House of Commons:

"LIMERICK,
"*July* 13, 1801.

"MY LORD,

"Your Excellency will, I hope, pardon the liberty I take in addressing you, and particularly on a subject that does not immediately relate to your Administration. But

I have heard so much of Lord Hardwicke's condescension that it induces me to trespass upon your Excellency's time.

"It is necessary that I should inform your Excellency that for the eleven years I have been in Parliament I have uniformly supported the King's Government in this country, that the language I have ever held to your Excellency's predecessors has been that there was no office, title, or emolument that they could offer me that I would accept, nor did my agreeing with His Majesty's Ministers on the question of the Union tempt me to hold any other, or to ask for any distinguishing mark of favour for myself or friends, except in the instance I have now to allude to.

"Mr. Joseph Peacocke, of Barntick, in the county of Clare, a relative of mine, possessed of the second best resident property in that county, attached to the Government, and a strenuous supporter of all its measures, was desirous of being made a Baronet. His wishes were communicated to Lord Castlereagh by Lord Conyngham. The request was so trifling, when considered by whom and at the time it was made, that my brother and I did not think it necessary to make any inquiries after Lord Castlereagh's desiring to have Mr. Peacocke's place of abode, etc. My surprise and disappointment, therefore, is very great at finding his name being omitted in the list of the Baronets gazetted on the 7th inst.

"I know not what Mr. Peacocke's feeling may be, but unless he is gratified in the object he had in view, I shall think it incumbent on me to resent it, and to show that I am not insensible to the ridiculous point of view a respectable gentleman has been placed in by my too great confidence in Government, who will lose in me a steady and disinterested supporter. I have at the same time to assure your Excellency that, from my disposition to support your Excellency's measures, I shall feel the utmost concern at being driven to pursue a line of conduct so different from what my family have ever observed, and shall regret it the more since your Excellency is at the head of the Government.

"I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Excellency's most obedient and very faithful servant,

"FRANCIS N. BURTON."

The Lord Lieutenant, in reply to his irate correspondent, points out that the Union engagements relating to the title of Baronet were entirely settled before his arrival

in Ireland, and that he even was ignorant of the names of the gentlemen upon whom the honour had been conferred until he saw them in the *Gazette*. As to the claim of Mr. Peacocke, he knew nothing of it; it did not appear on the list of engagements which he had received from Lord Cornwallis, and he deeply regretted that all he could do in the circumstances was to forward Burton's letter to Whitehall.

Peacocke, however, did not get the baronetcy. The King was reluctant to confer titles in Ireland, even in cases where there were positive engagements. Therefore, the man who was content with a loose verbal promise had to go without his expected reward.

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It will be seen, on reference to the official List of Union Engagements, that in the "Honours" section earldoms were promised to Viscount Limerick, Viscount Gosford, and Viscount Dunlo, and a viscountcy to Baroness Newcomen: Baron Glentworth and Baron Kilconnel were, in the long list of Peerage creations and promotions of December, 1800, created respectively Viscount Limerick and Viscount Dunlo for their services to the Union, and received pledges of further promotion in the peerage at the first fitting opportunity. Viscount Gosford, who supported the Union in the House of Lords, was offered an earldom in December, 1800; but on the advice of his son and heir, Colonel Acheson, who sat in the Irish House of Commons and opposed the Union, he declined the honour, so that it might not be said that he voted for the Union to obtain a step in the Peerage. Still, Viscount Gosford and his son and heir were anxious, as will be seen later, that after a decent lapse of time the family should obtain the earldom. The Lady Newcomen mentioned in the List for a viscountcy—the wife of Sir William Newcomen, a member of the House of Commons—was raised to the Peerage as a baroness in December, 1800, in return for her husband's political services. Baroness Dufferin, who also appears in the List, was another of the twenty-two Union peerages created, on the recommendation of Lord Cornwallis, in

December, 1800. Her son, Sir James Blackwood, who sat in the Irish House of Commons for his own pocket borough of Killyleagh, in co. Down, and supported the Union, desired that his mother should be created originally a viscountess, he, of course, being heir to the title; but, as the note to the case in the List of Union Engagements states, this was refused, as it was decided that no person should be recommended for two steps in the Peerage at the same time.

The undertaking given with respect to these supplementary honour engagements was that they should be fulfilled after the first General Election for the United Parliament. The General Election came off in June, 1802. Accordingly, in August Hardwicke—always most scrupulous for the speedy liquidation of the Union account—wrote to the Home Secretary recommending that these promised promotions in the Peerage should at once be conferred. There was a doubt in the case of Baroness Dufferin. It did not appear to his Excellency that her advancement to a viscountcy was a positive engagement. Castlereagh was consulted on the point. Writing to Wickham, the Chief Secretary, Castlereagh said that if Blackwood was very desirous of obtaining further promotion in the Peerage for his mother, he (Castlereagh) would ask the Lord Lieutenant to grant it as a favour to himself. But no application had been received from Blackwood. "I consider," says Castlereagh, "a step in the Peerage too great a mark of favour to be either asked or granted unless particularly desired; and therefore, although I wish to cultivate Blackwood's friendship as very material to me in the county of Down, I have no wish to express of this nature on the present occasion." No action was taken, therefore, in the case of Baroness Dufferin. But Viscount Limerick was created Earl of Limerick, and Viscount Dunlo, Earl of Clancarty. In the case of Viscount Gosford the earldom was again declined, as in the opinion of the son and heir there had not yet elapsed a sufficient time for the promotion to escape being described as a Union engagement.

* * *

While writing to Lord Pelham, the Home Secretary, on the subject of these Union peerage promotions, the Lord Lieutenant set forth the claim made to him for advancement in the Peerage by the Earl of Landaff, of Thomastown Castle, co. Tipperary. The Earl had supported the Union in the House of Lords, but his son, Lord Mathew, who sat in the House of Commons, had voted against the measure. Says the Viceroy:

"His Lordship called upon me last week for the purpose of representing that at the time of the discussion of the Union question he had a promise from Lord Cornwallis of promotion in the Peerage. That, having been much distressed at the vote which his son, Lord Mathew, had thought himself obliged to give against the Union, he waited upon Lord Cornwallis to resign any pretension he might have to the favour which had been promised to him. That, having subsequently received a very handsome letter from Lord Cornwallis, having attended a meeting in Tipperary for the purpose of forwarding the wishes of the Government by supporting an address from the county in favour of the Union, and having twice brought into Parliament a friend of Government, he thought himself fairly entitled to the mark of favour which had been originally promised. This is the statement which Lord Landaff has made of the manner in which he understood what passed at the time; but it is evident that Lord Cornwallis either did not consider himself as engaged to his Lordship, or conceived himself entirely released from the engagement, if any had been made. Lord Landaff added, however, that he by no means wishes to found a claim upon what had passed at that time; but expressly desires it to be considered as a new application, and hopes that it may be favourably represented for his Majesty's consideration."

The Earl of Landaff's desire was not gratified. Both Pelham, the Home Secretary, and Addington, the Prime Minister, were against the promotion, as it was not a Union engagement.*

* * *

* The earldom of Landaff has been long extinct. Thomastown Castle, the home of the Mathews, and the birthplace of the Apostle of Temperance, Father Mathew, is now in a state of ruin. In the eighteenth century it was said to be the most magnificent

But the Earl of Landaff was not the only disappointed seeker of a step upwards in the Peerage. There was John Denis Browne, Marquis of Sligo, of Westport House, Westport. He was Earl of Altamont in the Irish Parliament, and for his services to the Union was created Marquis of Sligo, in the notorious twenty-two promotions to higher grades in the Irish Peerage which were gazetted in December, 1800. He was also made a representative Irish peer in the House of Lords of the Imperial Parliament. But he thought he also deserved to be included in the Union Peerages of the United Kingdom—six of which had been created—and, indeed, he was led to expect the distinction by Addington, Prime Minister, at the next creation. Great, then, was his chagrin on finding that in July, 1802, two Peerages of the United Kingdom were created—one of which was Lord Sheffield, of the Irish Peerage, made Baron Sheffield of Sheffield—and that he had been passed over. These creations, it is necessary to say, had no relation whatever to the Union. But I will let Sligo tell his own story. Writing to Hardwicke on August 2, 1802, he says :

"Considering upon the Union of these countries that my family from their situation might look to a permanent seat in the House of Peers of the United Kingdom, I waited on Mr. Addington as soon as I was sent over as an Irish representative peer. I stated to him my situation in this Kingdom. That six out of seven of the Marquises above me in the Peerage had received that mark of distinction, and that it had also been conferred on the only one that was my junior in it. That my fortune here was equal to any of those who had been so distinguished, and the prospects of my son in both countries considerably beyond them all. Under the circumstances I was induced to make the request ; and Mr. Addington having expressed

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residence in Ireland. One of its lords had peculiar ideas. On the arrival of his guests apartments were assigned to them, and each guest was told that he was to regard his apartments as his own house during his stay. Mathew himself was rarely seen, and he never allowed himself to be thanked. A fully-equipped tavern was fitted up in the Castle for those whose tastes lay in that direction. Dean Swift was a guest of this remarkable host.

himself as favourably as possible to my pretensions, I had very little doubt of succeeding in the attainment of them.

"Had it been an object to have added insult to degradation and disappointment, I submit to your Excellency if it could have been offered more pointedly than by choosing those who were to receive what was withheld from me from the lowest ranks of the Irish Peerage, persons who had no situation in Ireland, and who had not even aided in that measure as I had done, without which the dignity of a Peer of the United Kingdom could not have been conferred on anyone."

Hardwicke wrote in reply one of his characteristic mollifying letters. He poured abundance of oil on the wounded vanity of Sligo. Here is his Excellency's letter :

"PHŒNIX PARK,
"*19th August*, 1802.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I was desirous before I acknowledged your obliging letter of the 2nd inst. to learn distinctly from Mr. Wickham what has passed upon the subject, concerning which you had conversed with Mr. Addington, and which is, of course, highly interesting to your Lordship. I understand from Mr. Wickham that the two Peerages to which your Lordship refers were conferred in consequence of promises of some standing, and that whatever difficulty exists with regard to claims which, as in the instance of your Lordship, are upon many grounds entitled to attention, arises from an unwillingness to make new engagements for the Peerage after the great increase which it has received of late years.

"I think it impossible that any prejudice can have arisen which could alter a determination already taken, and that the reason which Mr. Wickham has assigned is the true and only explanation of what has struck your Lordship in consequence of the late creations. I have communicated generally to Mr. Addington what your Lordship stated in your last letter. I have not heard from him since he has received my letter ; but I trust that what Mr. Wickham has written to you will do away with every idea of anything having been taken up to your Lordship's prejudice."

Sligo, acknowledging this letter, says:

"The pains you are so good to take to reconcile to my mind the severest disappointment I have ever met with, I shall always hold in my remembrance; and in whatever situation I may stand I trust you will do me the justice to consider me among those that you may entirely command and dispose of.

"Not being in the habit of much intercourse with statesmen, I can easily imagine that I might be led to give weight to professions which they were not meant to convey, and I should blame myself under that impression if my interest in the object had led me to a conclusion in which I was not justified. The interview I had the honour of having with Mr. Addington was at his own desire, after my object had been named to him by my brother, and I can hardly persuade myself that on such an occasion expressions could have been used to me little, if at all, short of direct engagements, if it was known at the time to the person using them that an insurmountable objection existed to that request being complied with. It is so inconsistent with the honour, candour and fairness of Mr. Addington's general conduct and character, that I should have attributed the change of sentiment to anything rather than to him if any part of my conduct since had admitted of two interpretations, either in or out of Parliament. Your Excellency may know what the one has been, though I am sorry by report only; and the Secretary of State has done me the honour to acknowledge the other on more than one occasion.

"As to me, I am of small importance, and I am quite aware of it. Neither shall my claims or my expectations be again speedily troublesome; but if there be anything like a general principle to unite the hearts and minds of Great Britain and Ireland, by keeping one in a state of inferiority, by despising and rejecting the highest of our birth, rank, and fortune, and giving priority without any other claim than not being resident with us, I am afraid it will not be found to answer, and I lament it exceedingly. It will hurt me in a still sorer point than my pride, if it takes from the strength of the Empire."*

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* In February, 1806, Sligo's ambition was realized. He was created Baron Monteagle of Westport in the Peerage of the United Kingdom.

Even membership of the Irish Privy Council was restricted solely to those who had engagements from the Government for services in the cause of the Union. There was the Hon. Colonel George Napier, an old and valuable civil servant, Comptroller of the Army Accounts. Besides, he was the son of a Scottish peer, and his wife was Lady Sarah Lennox, a daughter of the ducal house of Richmond (thus descended on the wrong side from Charles II.), whom George III. in his young days was most anxious to marry, whose sisters were the Duchess of Leinster (mother of Lord Edward FitzGerald) and Lady Holland (mother of Charles James Fox) and Lady Louisa Conolly, wife of Mr. Conolly of Castletown, known as "the great Irish Commoner," who figures herself as Lady Sarah Napier in the exciting annals of the Rebellion of 1798, and who became the mother of those two famous British soldiers, Sir Charles Napier, the conqueror of Scinde, and Sir William Napier, the author of the "History of the War in the Peninsula." The Lord Lieutenant informed Colonel Napier that in recognition of his services to the State he proposed to recommend him for the Irish Privy Council, and Colonel Napier accepted the distinction with gratitude. The nomination was forwarded for sanction to Whitehall. It was rejected by his Majesty's confidential advisers, on the ground that all such honours must be confined to those who had claims on the Government for services rendered during the Union crisis.

The Lord Lieutenant was angry. He told Napier the reason why his appointment to the Privy Council had been refused by the Ministers. Napier was filled with wrath at the news. He wrote an indignant letter to the Lord Lieutenant. What, he asked, did the action of the Ministers amount to? As if they had said bluntly, "We will confer the honour of Privy Councillor on those political traffickers who supported Government on interested principles, but we cannot agree to your Excellency's recommendation of a man of birth, character, and honourable services for that mark of his sovereign's approbation."

And this was his return for thirty-five years of faithful services to the State! He goes on:

"My Lord, I conceive there are occasions when a man, without the imputation of egotism, may be permitted to hazard a few words respecting himself, and I trust your Excellency will admit that I am at present in a predicament which justifies my availing myself of this license. You will, therefore, allow me to observe that the son of a peer, connected by birth or marriage with a considerable part of the ancient nobility in both countries, could derive no additional honour from mere association with the Irish Privy Council; and, in fact, had I been disposed to receive that distinction under 'a questionable shape,' or had my friends been sufficiently venal to propose terms when the dearest interests of this country were materially implicated, I probably should not have to lament the mortification of being compelled to consider myself as the proximate cause of your Excellency proposing any measure relative to Ireland which did not command that prompt attention your exalted station, character, and Government have a right to claim. But even those considerations render this return to your Excellency's kind attention more ungracious, for surely those services must be of slight importance which, sustained by such respectable testimony, are not esteemed worthy of a distinction that may be bestowed without danger to the public safety, or burthen to the public Purse, and which has hitherto been granted without demur on every and any Chief Governor's nomination.

"Respecting my own individual pretensions, I appeal to your Excellency as a competent judge, and on incontrovertible evidence, that wheresoever the King's service or the public interest have been implicated, I have neither shunned the labour nor shrunk from the responsibility and odium attaching to the extra official exertions proposed to me by the Government of this country; and I feel it a duty I owe to myself to support the assertion by requesting your Excellency will recollect the circumstance of my having been required to undertake a laborious, confidential, and (what is still less pleasant) an invidious task, totally abstracted from the duties of my office, but importantly connected with the public interest. I allude to that investigation of the conduct and practice of the Board of Works, respecting the expenditure of

money confided to their disposal, in which most disagreeable and troublesome undertaking I was associated with two Privy Councillors—the principal Commissioner, whose official character became the subject of discussion, being himself a member of that body—and had I not on this occasion expected that a similar distinction would have been proposed to me, I probably should have complied with the customs of this country by stipulating for the reward before I undertook the service."

* * *

Sir George Shee was another official of the Irish Administration.* He, too, desired a seat in the Privy Council, and as his name appears in the List of Union Engagements, of course his wish was gratified. The following correspondence in reference to his claim took place between Hardwicke and Cornwallis:

"PHŒNIX PARK,
"*September 14th*, 1804.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"A claim having been made by Sir Geo. Shee since his succession to the office of Receiver-General, which he considers as a part of his engagement delivered to me by your Lordship, I am under the necessity of troubling you for a short explanation of it, according to the fair understanding of it at the time.

"The entry opposite Sir George Shee's name in the List of Civil Engagements is 'To be Paymaster of the

* "Sir George Shee was, we have seen, among the most active and most loyal of the Irish magistrates, and he was one of the few members of his class who were strongly in favour of the Union. He was intimate with Pelham, and on the first day of 1799 he wrote to him that he was never more certain of any truth in his life than that a Union would be advantageous to Ireland, and highly so to the Empire at large, but he could not shut his eyes to the fact that the opposition to it was becoming more formidable every day, and he could not subscribe to the doctrine that the measure must be carried at all hazards. . . . If the measure, he continued, 'cannot be carried in the majority of the counties and towns, and all parties in general continue to decline expressing approbation of it, I really think that a moment should not be lost in relinquishing it for the present, and by that means quieting the ferment it has caused.' These words appear to me to bear the stamp of true statesmanship, but the Government had firmly resolved to flinch from no obstacle."—LECKY: "Ireland in the Eighteenth Century."

Forces and of the Privy Council. If the appointment should not take place to succeed to Sir Henry Cavendish as Receiver-General.' Soon after your Lordship left Ireland, Sir George resigned his office of Secretary to the Treasury in order to accept the appointment of Under-Secretary of State to Lord Pelham, and to secure him against the danger of losing his engagement, as far as possible, I obtained for him a reversionary grant of Sir Henry Cavendish's office. Upon Sir Henry's death he came over to Ireland in order to take possession of the office, and, notwithstanding some regulations which it was always intended to make in the office respecting fees and balances, appeared to be well satisfied with the appointment.

"Within these few days, however, he has brought forward a claim to be appointed a Privy Councillor, as part of the engagement, and alleges that he had at all events a promise to that effect. I certainly understood from Lord Castlereagh, and it appears from the memorandum of which I send you a copy, that the Privy Council was a part of the engagement only in case it had been satisfied by the appointment of Paymaster of the Forces, by way of giving dignity to a new office. But as it has not been thought right to create such an office, I have always thought that Sir G. Shee's engagement has been satisfied by the other alternative, viz., the office of Receiver-General.

"If your Lordship sufficiently recollects the circumstances of the transaction, amongst so many of a similar description, I shall be much obliged to you for a communication of your opinion; because I am not willing, unless it should be necessary for the sake of preserving the good faith of your Lordship's Government, to expose myself to the embarrassment of so many other applications, as the appointment of Sir George Shee to be a Privy Councillor would unavoidably produce."

Cornwallis's reply is as follows:

"*Private.*

"CULFORD,
"*September 29th*, 1804.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"It is not without some difficulty that I can attempt to give an answer that may be considered in any degree satisfactory to your letter, dated the 14th instant, having had less personal concern in the engagement with Sir George Shee than in almost any other which

took place during the agitation of the Union question, as the negotiation with that gentleman was entirely carried on through Lord Castlereagh.

Sir George was not in a situation, nor, to do him justice, was he disposed, to dictate terms, as many others did, from which circumstance the agreement was probably more loosely worded. I well recollect, however, that the Privy Council was coupled with the office of Paymaster-General. It seems that this was not expressed in terms in case the engagement was to be satisfied by the office of Receiver-General. Looking, however, to the spirit of the transaction, I doubt, after his having been disappointed of the higher office of Paymaster-General, and taken that of Receiver-General with a diminution of its former emoluments, whether it would not be consonant to the liberal proceeding which Government has observed in the performance of the Union engagements, that the Privy Council should still be given to Sir George (provided there is no unfitness in a Receiver-General being a Privy Councillor), especially if the income of that office does not exceed that which he enjoyed as Secretary of the Treasury, as that gentleman would otherwise be, perhaps, the only one of our active and zealous supporters on whom no mark of favour would have been conferred, either in honours or emoluments.

"I feel it fairly due to Sir George to state from the reports of those who acted most confidentially under my Administration, during the agitation of the Union question, that he served us with unqualified zeal, and that he really did a great deal of good by his activity in a cause which had few sincere friends.

"I have the honor to be, with very sincere esteem and regard, my dear Lord, your most obedient and faithful servant,

"CORNWALLIS."

A few days later came another letter to the Lord Lieutenant from Cornwallis:

"*Private.*

"CULFORD,
"*Oct. 2nd*, 1804.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"Since I have had the honor of transmitting to you my answer to your letter respecting the claim of Sir George Shee to a seat in the Privy Council of Ireland, Lord Castlereagh has sent me a letter which he has

received from Sir George, in which the latter asserts that Lord Castlereagh wrote to him from London, at the time when the creation of the office of Paymaster in Ireland was relinquished, to inform him that he was to have the reversion of the Receiver-General's place, together with the appointment to the Privy Council, and his Lordship further informs me that as he has no copy of the letter he cannot answer with precision for the contents, but that he must suppose Sir George to be correct in stating that when he notified to Sir George that the creation of the office of Paymaster-General was not to take place, he (Lord Castlereagh) expressed himself in such a manner as would justify Sir George in taking it for granted that the succession to the Council was not to be affected by his having only the reversion of Sir Henry Cavendish's office, instead of the Paymastership in immediate possession.

"I am very sorry, my dear Lord, to have been obliged to give you so much trouble on this subject, and beg leave to assure you that I have the honor to be, with very sincere regard, your most obedient and faithful servant,

"CORNWALLIS."

* * *

It is interesting to discover that in 1805 both Lord Gosford and his son were agreed that the time was come when they might accept the earldom offered in 1800, in the sure conviction that, after such a lapse of time, it would not be suspected of being a Union peerage. Pitt was Prime Minister now, and Hawkesbury was Home Secretary. Hawkesbury wrote to Hardwicke in September, 1805, that as Pitt understood Viscount Gosford was desirous of an advance in the Irish Peerage he hoped his Excellency would forward an official letter to be laid before the King recommending the Viscount for an earldom. "I understand," adds the Home Secretary, "his son is very anxious respecting it, and that it will probably determine his political line." Gosford accordingly was created an earl, and no doubt the support of his son, Colonel Acheson, a member of the Imperial Parliament, was in consequence secured by the Government.

* * *

In the same year there was another advance in the Irish Peerage, as a reward for services to the Union, though the case does not appear in the official List of Union Engagements. Hawkesbury, writing from Whitehall, November 14, 1805, to Hardwicke, says: "I have had an application from Templetown for a step in the Peerage which was offered to him at the time of the Union by Lord Cornwallis, but was at the time refused by him. He afterwards, in consequence of a change in circumstances, altered his mind, and Lord Sidmouth promised him he should be included in the first promotions. I have spoken to Mr. Pitt on the subject, and he has not the least objection to it. I should be obliged to you, therefore, if you would have the goodness to recommend him for a Viscountcy." Accordingly, Baron Templetown was created Viscount Templetown in 1806 for his vote for the Union.

* * *

"Chas. Dublin," Archbishop Agar, again comes on the scene. He was an Irish peer as well as an Irish prelate. Raised to the Irish Peerage in 1795 as Baron Somerton, he was promoted Viscount Somerton iu December, 1800, for his services to the Union. In February, 1805, he wrote to the Lord Lieutenant that he desired to be created Earl of Normanton. Why his Grace desired this promotion in the Peerage is engagingly set out in the following interesting letter written by his wife, Countess Somerton, to "my dear Mr. Marsden," the Under-Secretary at the Castle, who sent it on to the Lord Lieutenant:

"There is nothing that the Archbishop and I have so near at heart as the adorning our dear son, now on his travels, with a little feather to make him more presentable, etc., etc., wherever he goes. On the Continent Rank is inestimable, and even at home it is no small addition to a young man whom, in our partiality, we think wants nothing else to recommend him *partout*; having the advantages of the best education, the first alliances, and possessing all fortune's goods, if an income

of ten thousand per annum can be so considered, and which his father would leave him to-morrow.

"In short, this dear son's advantage is an object with us deservedly precious. And no one acquainted with the world can be ignorant of the value that is put upon Rank, both in foreign countries and in one's own. Since, then, this is indisputable, we naturally wish to compass this for him, but which cannot be had in any other way than by that of his father's advancing a step in the Peerage. A step, certainly, of no use or consequence to the A.B. himself, who is a *flight of stairs* above it in his own person already, and it is hoped that this favor would be the least embarrassing to Government of any that cou'd be ask'd by his Grace, especially as he happens to be so peculiarly and fortunately circumstanced as to have a claim to that favor beyond others."

A year later, in February, 1806, his Grace was created Earl of Normanton, and his son got the courtesy title of lord.

* * *

In October, 1804, a Ribbon of the Order of St. Patrick fell to the Government by the death of the Duke of Leinster, brother of Lord Edward FitzGerald, the leader of the United Irishmen. The Duke, it is interesting to note, was one of the few peers who opposed the Union. An exciting contest for the Ribbon took place between two noted champions of the Union—the Earl of Roden and the Marquis of Waterford. Roden had been very early in the field. So long before as July 1, 1801, he wrote to Hardwicke :

"From the various kind expressions Lord Cornwallis was so good to make use of towards me, and his wishes to show his regard for my general character, and (he was pleased to say) military services during the late unfortunate Rebellion in Ireland, on the death of the Lord Marquess of Waterford I stated to Lord Cornwallis that if he thought any military services of mine had been of use, and that he had the disposal of the Ribbon then vacant, on that ground I should be proud to receive it from his hands. He wrote to me a very handsome letter

on the subject, and said I should certainly have had it had it not been promised to Lord Conyngham. Though there is none at present vacant, it might happen that one would fall during your Excellency's residence in Ireland. If that should be the case, I might flatter myself with the hopes of succeeding to it."

Hardwicke, as usual, returned a most gracious reply. He told Roden how he had written to Addington, the Prime Minister, of his desire to become a Knight of the Order of St. Patrick, and how he had expressed the opinion " that his lordship's loyal and spirited services during the Rebellion " entitled his claim to a favourable consideration in the event of a vacancy.

" Your Lordship will be aware," his Excellency added, with characteristic caution, " that it would be improper for me at present to make an engagement without being perfectly certain that it would be in my power to fulfil it when the vacancy occurred. But I must beg you at the same time to be persuaded that I am very sensible of the justice of your claims, arising from your useful services and example at a most critical period."

In October, 1804, as I have said, there was a Ribbon of the Order of St. Patrick at the disposal of the Government. Roden lost no time in again putting his pretensions before the Lord Lieutenant.

Hardwicke accordingly sent Roden the following letter, dated November 8, 1804 :

" Your Lordship is aware that I cannot commit myself upon a subject of this nature without a full communication with the King's Ministers ; nor am I at present able to communicate to you what is likely to be the result of the present vacancy. So far, however, I may venture to assure your Lordship, that there is as much disposition to admit your pretensions to this distinction in the present, as in the late, Administration. Of the claims which have been brought forward upon the present occasion there is only one which appears to be prior in point of time to your Lordship's, or, in my opinion, equal to it upon the other grounds on which such Honours are generally claimed or conferred. I will write to your Lordship again, as soon

as I am enabled to say anything more precise, or am justified in giving you a fuller explanation upon the subject."

Writing from Tollymore Park, on November 10, 1804, Roden thus replied :

"I trust your Excellency will have the goodness to pardon a very few observations which are only meant as a statement of my claim for the Feather in question. I have not the smallest doubt the one mention'd by your Excellency to have a prior claim, in point of time, has much more pretension on the grounds that such Honours are generally claimed and conferr'd. I am certain that his pretensions must be much superior to mine, as I can never have deserved to claim any merit from any exertion I have made, having merely, as I conceived, endeavoured to do my duty.

"But I beg your Excellency will please to recollect that the ground I had for troubling you originally on the subject was Lord Cornwallis, soon after an end was put to the unfortunate disturbances in Ireland, having told me, on my application for the Ribbon vacant by the death of Lord Waterford, had it not been given by Lord Conyngham he should have been happy to have given it to me. My only wish to have got it then was in a military point of view for my service I had perform'd with the Regiment of Dragoons I then had the honor to command, to which service Lord Cornwallis had been an eye-witness.

"Subsequent to the conversation I had the honor of having with your Excellency, Mr. Wickham sent to me in London to let me know that His Majesty's Ministers were very happy in promising to comply with my former request, namely, that I should have the first vacant Ribbon of the Irish Order, which, coming from such authority (considering him as acting as Secretary to the Irish Government), I certainly conceived as conclusive, and ever since did consider it in that light. I am very much flatter'd by your Excellency's assurance of the same kind disposition of the present Administration to admit my pretensions as the last, and have merely stated my case as it actually stands, which I consider my duty to do merely in my own justification for troubling your Excellency on the subject.

"Whatever may be the determination of His Majesty's

Ministers with respect to me, I can in no instance alter the very sincere respect, attachment and high regard with which I have the honor to be your Excellency's obedient, faithful, humble servant,

"RODEN."

* * *

Addington was no longer Prime Minister. The second Pitt Administration was now in power. Therefore Hardwicke wrote a long letter to Hawkesbury, the new Home Secretary, informing him of the early application of Lord Roden for the next Ribbon, and of the favourable disposition of Addington towards his pretension. He adds:

"My opinion is that there is no peer in Ireland who has fairer pretensions than Lord Roden to such a distinction, or which would be more generally acknowledged. Indeed, there is but one person whose claim from Rank and Property ought to stand in competition with him: I mean the Marquis of Waterford. I have not, however, heard that he has wished it at present, but if he should make an application, and should press his claim the more on account of the disappointment he has experienced from the delays which have unavoidably taken place in his brother's, Lord John Beresford's, promotion to the Bench, I think Lord Roden might be prevailed upon to postpone his claim to some future opportunity, as he has another object of great importance to his family, concerning which he is very anxious. The other object to which I refer and which Lord Roden has lately repeated in a letter is the advancement of his brother, Mr. Percy Jocelyn, to the Episcopal Bench. I have told Lord Roden that I would take an early opportunity of communicating with His Majesty's Ministers upon the subject of his application, but that I could not commit myself to anything further at present."

The new Administration received the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant rather coldly. As a matter of fact, the Marquis of Waterford had applied to Pitt for the Ribbon. He mentioned that his father, who died in 1800, was a Knight of the Order of St. Patrick, and that on delivering the insignia of his father to Cornwallis, while

admitting that he could not then succeed to the Ribbon, he had put in a claim to have his pretension allowed at the earliest opportunity.* Pitt was disposed to regard the claim with favour. Besides, Hawkesbury pointed out to Hardwicke, the Prime Minister was of opinion that nothing that had occurred with respect to Lord Roden in 1801 amounted to an engagement for the next vacant Ribbon. Hawkesbury, in the same letter, also administers the following rap on the knuckles to the Viceroy:

"I very much wish you would avoid giving Lord Roden any engagement with respect to his brother succeeding to the Episcopal Bench without further communication, as I am of opinion that very great inconvenience may arise from the Government being committed too deeply with regard to engagements of this nature, and that the Church Establishment of Ireland deserves every attention that can possibly be paid to it."

Before this letter from the Home Secretary reached the Lord Lieutenant, Lord John Beresford, Dean of Clogher, and brother of the Marquis of Waterford, called at the Castle to advance his title to a Bishopric—the story of which I have already told—and in the course of the interview Hardwicke asked him to ascertain his brother's sentiments with respect to the vacant Ribbon. Accordingly, Lord John wrote to the Marquis on the

* The Archbishop of Dublin claimed, as Chancellor of the Order of St. Patrick, the collars of the deceased knights. On the death of the Duke of Leinster he demanded the Duke's collar, which had been deposited with the Registrar of the Order, and sent to the Viceroy, in support of his claim, the following letter from "Francis Townsend, *Windsor Herald*," dated "Heralds' College, 17th Nov., 1804."

"DEAR SIR,

"The Collar of a deceased Knight of the Garter has ever been considered as the perquisite of the Chancellor of the Order, and I find nothing in the statutes of St. Patrick repugnant to the idea that the Chancellor of that Order should be entitled to the same privilege; but I never understood that any other parts of the Insignia, except the Collar, were claimed as perquisites. The Ribbon and Badge of the Garter are always restored to the sovereign. The application for the Collar is made to the family of the deceased."

subject, and sent the reply to the Lord Lieutenant. It will be noticed that Waterford seems to have suspected a design on the part of Hardwicke to supersede, by the offer of the Ribbon of St. Patrick, the claim of his brother to a seat on the Episcopal Bench :

"LONDON,
"*Nov. 12th*, 1804.

"MY DEAR JOHN,

"I have just received your letter communicating what passed at your audience with Lord Hardwicke. The desire his Excellency obligingly expressed to know what my wishes were on the subject of the vacant Irish Ribband, marks that kindness on his part which is extremely flattering.

"What I feel, however, with respect to the Irish Order of Honor is that I should not make it an object of much solicitation. If ever his Majesty thought proper to select me as one of his Nobility to be invested with that Order, I am ready to accept it most gratefully, and given as a proof of my sovereign's esteem for my attachment and fidelity I should receive it as conferring a very distinguished favor.

"But neither this nor any other object shall for one moment interfere with that which I have so much at heart, your establishment in the northern Bishopric of Raphoe, which from what passed between Pitt and me (in whose word I have every confidence) I must rest assured of. It is of too much importance to have you well established so near my Derry property to embarrass this engagement by any other personal consideration or request of my own.

"Believe me, yours very affectionately,

* * * "WATERFORD."

Months dragged on, and Pitt could not—or, having more important matters to consider, would not—make up his mind as to the rival claims of Roden and Waterford for the Ribbon. The impatient Roden wrote as follows to the Lord Lieutenant in February, 1805 :

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I lament extremely trespassing on your Excellency's time on a subject which, from being fully stated before, I am distressed to renew, but considering all the

circumstances it is impossible for me not to request once more your kind attention on a business in which my own feelings are so much concern'd.

"Having some time since troubled your Excellency respecting the vacant Ribbon in the Irish Order, I did not conceive that His Majesty's Ministers would have delayed to fulfil a claim made upon so honourable, and, I conceived, so positive a promise. So long a period of time having elapsed since the communication took place, I feel myself absolutely called upon (with all possible respect) to request an answer, one way or the other, on the subject. Why Mr. Wickham's promise to me has not been performed I cannot say; but the object in question can never, in any possible degree, be brought into competition with my having (from the circumstances) consider'd myself authorized publickly to declare the offer having been made; which declaration, not having been confirm'd, must put me in a most unpleasant point of view with friends who have ever consider'd my declarations founded on honourable fact.

"I entreat your Excellency will excuse this intrusion, and beg to assure you what I have said or done in this business can, in no possible degree, be attached to you, for whom I have a most high respect, and, if you will allow me to say, a sincere regard.

Hardwicke, in his reply, dated February 12, 1805, laments that it is not yet in his power to return a decisive answer on the subject, and goes on to write:

"If Mr. Wickham* had authority from Mr. Addington to assure your Lordship that the wish which you had expressed, and which I had conveyed to the King's Ministers, would be complied with upon the first opportunity which would occur, there can be no doubt of your right to claim the performance of what you considered as a promise, and which, if so understood, the present Administration would, I am sure, have no disposition to controvert. In stating this to your Lordship I trust you will consider me as wishing that the matter may be brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and that you should, at all events, receive an early answer.

"The only memorandum I find in Mr. Wickham's

* Wickham had long since resigned the Chief Secretaryship.

books, of which I am in possession, is dated April 26, 1802, and states that in answer to a letter received from you about that time he had informed you that the contents of your letter should be communicated to Mr. Addington and me. The communication to which your Lordship refers must have been of a very different description, and I shall be glad to know whether it was by letter or verbal; because if you consider it as a distinct promise it stands upon a different footing from that of being considered as an application to which no other answer had been given than that which I had been myself authorized to convey, though it showed every disposition to consider the claim in the most favourable manner."

* * *

A year passed, and Pitt died on January 23, 1806, leaving the question unsettled, like several others of greater political moment in which he was more deeply concerned. His Administration came to an end with his death. But before they quitted office they decided that the Ribbon should be bestowed on the Marquis of Waterford. Hardwicke was annoyed by the decision. He considered himself committed to Lord Roden; and in any case he naturally thought that his recommendation as Viceroy ought to have been accepted. His anger was further inflamed by the following curt note from Waterford —who was aware of the Viceroy's efforts in the interest of Roden—to the Under-Secretary, Alexander Marsden:

"CURRAGHMORE,
"*February 19th*, 1806.

"SIR,

"It having been some time ago signified to me from England that his Majesty has been graciously pleased (without any solicitation on my part) to name me to fill the present vacancy in the Order of St. Patrick, I am, therefore, to request that you will have the goodness to apply to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to know when it will be convenient to his Excellency to invest me with that honor."

Hardwicke sat down on February 26, 1806—while he was awaiting the arrival of his successor, the Duke of Bedford, Viceroy of the new Whig Administration—and

wrote a long letter, "private and confidential," on the subject to Earl Spencer, the new Home Secretary. Here is an extract from it :

"I feel it is necessary to inform your Lordship of a circumstance which has occurred, and which places me in some degree of difficulty in respect to the course which I ought to take, and as it is possible you may not be acquainted with it I am desirous of stating the case to your Lordship, not considering it proper at this period to decide upon a point of this nature without a full communication.

"On the 3rd instant I received an official letter from Lord Hawkesbury, dated the 25th of January, conveying to me his Majesty's pleasure that I would invest the Marquess of Waterford with the Insignia of the Order of St. Patrick, in which there has been a vacancy since the death of the Duke of Leinster. I received at the same time a private letter dated the 30th of January explaining the grounds on which the official letter was sent. The same conveyance also brought a letter from Lord Hawkesbury to the Marquess of Waterford, which was forwarded to him on the 3rd instant, and which he must have received on the following day. Had Lord Waterford been in Dublin, or had he come up on receipt of the letter, I should have felt myself called upon to have acted upon Lord Hawkesbury's letter ; but as three weeks had elapsed before I received any communication from Lord Waterford (though strictly speaking I might still be justified in acting upon the letter of the 31st ulto.) I do not choose to take such a step without apprising your Lordship of the circumstances, and requesting you to communicate to me your sentiments, as well as those of Lord Grenville, upon this subject.

"I think it right to explain to your Lordship that this Ribbon remained so long undisposed of in consequence of Mr. Pitt not having determined between the claims of Lord Roden and Lord Waterford, the former of whom made an application for it on the first vacancy, in the year 1801, and which was communicated to Lord Hawkesbury in a private letter, after the death of the Duke of Leinster in 1804."

"I enclose," he says in a P.S., "copies of the letters to which I have referred for your Lordship's information."

His Excellency was most anxious to have the Ribbon—now almost round the shoulders of the Marquis of Waterford—transferred to the Earl of Roden. But he met with a very decided rebuff. Says Spencer in reply:

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I am much obliged to your Excellency for your letter of the 26th ulto., marked 'private and confidential,' in relation to the Marquess of Waterford being invested with the Order of St. Patrick. As that measure was completely determined upon by the late Administration, and the authority was given to your Excellency by my predecessor in office some days before I had the honour to receive the Seals, I apprehend there can be no doubt of the propriety of your Excellency carrying the directions contained in Lord Hawkesbury's letter of the 25th of January into execution, and on this occasion I beg leave to take the liberty of desiring that your Excellency would have the goodness to signify to the Marquess of Waterford that though neither myself nor any of my colleagues in office can, under the circumstances of the case, claim any merit with him for a share in advising his Majesty to confer this honour on his Lordship, we are, nevertheless, anxious that he should do us the justice to believe that we have great satisfaction in seeing it so properly conferred."

Waterford had triumphed. The last letter on the subject in the Viceroy's Post-bag is a brief note from the Marquis, written from his Dublin residence, Tyrone House, March 12, 1806, informing the Lord Lieutenant of his arrival in town, and asking at what hour the next day it would be convenient for his Excellency to invest him with the Ribbon of the Order of St. Patrick.

CHAPTER X

A CHAPTER OF UNION DISAPPOINTMENTS

On the eve of the session of 1799, in which the question of the Union was first brought up in the Irish Parliament, Cornwallis, the Lord Lieutenant, wrote to his friend, General Ross, in London :

" The demands of our friends rise in proportion to the appearances of strength on the other side ; and you, who know how I detest a job, will be sensible of the difficulty which I must often have to keep my temper."

The Earl of Hardwicke was a phlegmatic and most courteous person, unlike the blustering soldier, Cornwallis ; but even he must have found it exceedingly hard to restrain himself often during the liquidation of these Union engagements which his predecessor flung about so lavishly and left him to discharge. I have already given examples of the complaints and upbraidings of persons included in the List of Engagements because of the time they were kept waiting for their promised rewards. But more poignant still are the wails of those who were left out in the cold, who, though they supported the Union for a price, were by some mischance excluded from the official List of Engagements.

For instance, there was Mr. James Knox, Ranger of the Curragh of Kildare, concerning whom I find the following amusing entries in the Lord Lieutenant's audience book for 1801 :

" *June* 9.—Mr. James Knox states the positive promise of Lord Cornwallis that he should be appointed a Commissioner of Revenue on giving up his present office. The engagement as he states was on the idea of a vacancy

by Mr. Beresford or Sir Henry Langrish. Told him I did not recollect his name, but I expected a correct copy of the Engagements from England in a few days. N.B.—Mr. Marsden says that Mr. Knox states the promise to have been made somewhere after dinner, which, however, Lord Cornwallis denied."

"*June* 23.—Mr. James Knox again repeats his statement of June 9th of a positive promise from Lord Cornwallis that he should be a Commissioner of the Revenue, or that his present place of Ranger of the Curragh should be made equal, by something in addition, to £800 per annum. Replied that he was not on the List, and recommended him to write to Lord Cornwallis on the subject. N.B.—Col. Littlehales has apprised Lord Cornwallis of Mr. K.'s intention."

"*July* 10.—Mr. James Knox, for the 3rd time, employed forty minutes in going through the old story of Lord Cornwallis's promise to give him a better place than that of Ranger of the Curragh. Was much dissatisfied with the extract Col. Littlehales had sent him of Lord Cornwallis's letter, which, he said, amounted to a general promise of something better, though nothing specific was mentioned. That Lord Cornwallis told him he should be upon his List of Engagements. Pressed me over and over again to promise something better after all the engagements were fulfilled. I positively refused to amend the List of Engagements, which I could not do without involving myself unpleasantly with those who were the objects of them; and as to making any promise of my own, I positively declined it as often as he pressed it, but in civil terms, and would give him no advice as to writing again to Lord Cornwallis."

The Lord Lieutenant adds the following note to the entry, in big, sprawling characters:

"The Lord deliver me from Mr. James Knox, Ranger of the Curragh of Kildare ! ! ! !"

* * *

Again, here is a letter from a man who had been a member of the Irish Parliament, Hugh Dillon Massey, of Doonass, co. Limerick, dated December 2, 1801:

"A near relation of mine, who is quite unprnvided for, was my first object in the Administration of my Lord

Cornwallis, and his Excellency was pleased to say, from the decided and disinterested support that I gave to the Union question, that I had strong claims upon their Administration. My object was to have obtained a pension upon the Irish Establishment of three hundred pounds per annum for the life of my relation; and upon my soliciting this favour from my Lord Cornwallis, he said that the Pension List was so limited, and that he had so many reduced families at that time to provide for, that he requested I would not then press it. For this assertion I beg leave to refer your Excellency to Lord Cornwallis.

"I am, my Lord, well aware that the Pension List is equally limited in your Excellency's hands as it was in my Lord Cornwallis's, and as I feel that I have no sort of claim to your Excellency's favour, it is with the greatest deference that I now beg leave to solicit only one hundred and fifty pounds per annum for my relation, instead of the three hundred pounds which I had every reason to expect, and which I have no doubt but I should have obtained had I been in Ireland on the recall of your Excellency's predecessor.

"I by no means presume to press my request until it shall be perfectly at your Excellency's convenience; but if I may be flattered with a hope of obtaining this object, at as early a period as circumstances will admit, it will lay me under an everlasting obligation to your Excellency and to your Administration."

"The present state of the Irish Pension List," says the Lord Lieutenant, in the course of his reply, "and the engagements of the late Government to which it is liable, will, unfortunately, preclude me from paying that attention to your request in favour of your relation, even on the most limited scale, to which I have no doubt he would be entitled from the circumstances to which you refer."

"Request!" It was the word that Massey himself had used; but the adoption of it by the Viceroy annoyed him. He wrote again to Hardwicke, insisting that his application must be regarded as "a claim founded upon the most unequivocal assurance from Lord Cornwallis." "I have no doubt," he adds, "that although hurry

of business at his departure may have occasioned his omitting to include his engagement to me on the List handed over to your Excellency, yet upon any reference to him he will be most ready to verify what I have asserted, and will recollect, upon his mentioning the weight of engagements that must follow the measure of the Union, my ready acquiescence in giving up one-half of the provision, which I solicited for my relation, of three hundred pounds a year." There was another thing of which he was certain with regard to Lord Cornwallis. "The recollection of the disinterested and firm support which I gave to his Lordship's Administration (as a county member) upon that important question of the Union will remain so strongly impressed upon his mind as to lead him to do strict justice upon an appeal through your Excellency to him." Massey himself wrote to Cornwallis, reminding him of his application, and asking him to "set the matter right with Lord Hardwicke." "I am well satisfied," he says, "that your Lordship's representation of the facts to your successor will lead to an immediate compliance with an object which was at all times most material to me, and which I flatter myself my zealous and disinterested support will appear to have merited."

Cornwallis at this time was in the old French city of Amiens negotiating, as plenipotentiary of Great Britain, the famous Peace of Amiens, signed in March, 1802, which brought to an end the war between England on one side, and France, Spain, and Holland on the other. Writing to Alexander Marsden, Under-Secretary for Ireland, on January 9, 1802, he says: "I am leading a miserable life in this wretched town of Amiens, where I am not only plagued to death, but am likely to be very long detained by the low and ungentlemanlike chicanery of my opponents." Then he goes on, in the same cynical vein, to deal with the claim of Hugh Dillon Massey:

"I enclose a copy of a letter which I have received from your 'friend' Massey, claiming a pension of £150 a year for his cousin as a reward for his 'disinterested support

of the Union.' I have, at present, no recollection of this business, but as I was in the constant habit of taking memorandums of all applications (which were either granted or remained for consideration) as soon as they were made, and of giving them the next morning to Littlehales, I should imagine that if I gave anything like an assurance to Massey it must be somewhere forthcoming. As Littlehales has flown about very much lately I have troubled you with an account of this business from the certainty that you would be found upon your station. If either you or he can throw any light upon this business I shall be much obliged to you."

Whether Marsden was able to throw any light upon the affair the Viceroy's Post-bag does not disclose. But Hugh Dillon Massey failed to obtain the pension of £300 or even of £150, which he desired for his cousin.

* * *

Here is a document in the handwriting of Lord Hardwicke, dated October 10, 1802, and entitled "Substance of a Conversation with Lord Glandore," in which the curious story of another Union disappointment is set forth.

The Earl of Glandore (John Crosbie, of Ardfert, co. Kerry) tells the Viceroy that his relative, Colonel Crosbie, one of the members for Kerry, was opposed to the Union when the question was first introduced in the Irish House of Commons. Glandore, himself a supporter of the measure, received a communication from the Government urging him to try to induce Colonel Crosbie to take the proper view of the matter. Accordingly, he had an interview with Crosbie, and Crosbie consented to vote for the Union on receiving an undertaking from Glandore that if the Government did not reward him with an office or pension he should resign in his favour the command of the Kerry Militia.* After the Union had been

* "At one of those large convivial parties which distinguished the table of Major Hobart when he was Secretary in Ireland, amongst the usual loyal toasts, 'The wooden walls of England' being given, Sir John Hamilton, in his turn, gave 'The wooden walls of Ireland'! This toast being quite new to us all, he was

carried Glandore went to Cornwallis, related what had passed between him and Crosbie, and requested that he should be relieved of his undertaking by some provision being made for Crosbie by the Government. But Cornwallis told him he was too late. He should have come before the Act was passed. Now that the Union was carried the Government could not possibly add to the long list of engagements they had been obliged to enter into in order to effect their purpose. Glandore was asked why he had not applied sooner. "In answer to this question," he observed, writes Hardwicke, "that he did not like to make a bargain when a great measure was pending, but now that it was passed he hoped the services he had rendered would not be overlooked or forgotten." He bitterly regretted the engagement which he had, he says, "giddily and rashly" entered into with Crosbie. He had raised the Kerry Militia; he had appointed its officers; he had led it in the "campaign of '98," and it would break his heart if he had to resign its command. He appealed over and over again to Cornwallis to do something for Crosbie, but nothing could be done, and so he had to give up the Colonelcy of the Kerry Militia to Crosbie. Now, two years after these events, he comes with the story of his wrongs to Hardwicke in the hope that he may be righted. The Viceroy says:

"It appears from the correspondence which Lord Glandore communicated to me that his first letter to the Lord Lieutenant was dated September 1, 1800. Lord Cornwallis, in answer to this letter, states the impossibility of finding anything for Colonel Crosbie, which could operate as an inducement to him to relinquish the claim he had upon Lord Glandore for his resignation, and regrets it in strong terms, calling himself, in one of the

asked for an explanation. Upon which, filling a bumper, he very gravely stood up, and bowing to the Marquis of Waterford and several other country gentlemen who commanded county regiments, he said: 'My lords and gentlemen, I have the pleasure of giving you "The wooden walls of Ireland"—*the colonels of militia!*'"—BARRINGTON: "Personal Recollections of his Own Times."

letters, 'a Ministerial Bankrupt,' and speaking of the necessity of adhering to all his engagements for the sake of his own honour. Several other letters passed between the Lord Lieutenant and Lord Glandore, who seems to have been extremely anxious to retain his regiment; and when at last he sent Colonel Crosbie a letter to be delivered to the Lord Lieutenant expressive of his unwillingness to delay any longer Col. Crosbie's appointment, it was accompanied by a letter to Col. Crosbie which marks in strong terms his reluctance to give up the regiment, and desiring him, if in his conversation with Lord Cornwallis he could make any impression, or open any prospect, not to deliver it.

"To this letter, dated March 6, 1801, Col. Crosbie wrote an answer in which he complains of Lord Glandore's conduct as rather unkind, and adds that nothing but pecuniary engagements into which he had entered in the expectation of Lord Glandore's resignation would have induced him to accept the appointment, so much against his Lordship's wishes; that he was so desirous of accommodating Lord Glandore that he would even have accepted of a 'Blackguard Pension' for Mrs. Crosbie, if it could have been had. This refers to an application Glandore had made for a pension of £300 per annum for Mrs. Crosbie."*

The proposition Lord Glandore now made to Hardwicke, so that the Kerry Militia might be restored to him, was that either a civil office should be found for Crosbie, or that the regiment should be divided into two battalions, and that he should have the command of the first. Hardwicke goes on:

"In respect to his first proposition, I told him that with every disposition to promote his views, the engagements of the Government, to which I was executor, still precluded me from making any arrangement for Colonel Crosbie. That, however, I could safely say that, considering all that had passed, his own wishes so strongly expressed, and Colonel Crosbie's assurance, I thought his Lordship entitled to expect that if Colonel Crosbie

* These pensions to ladies, of which there were, at the time, several on the Irish Establishment, were supposed to have been given for services that are not regarded as political.

should obtain any situation from Government his resigning the Kerry Militia to Lord Glandore should be proposed to him as a condition. That I saw no early prospect of it, but thought it right to say that Colonel Crosbie had spoken to me upon the subject of some consideration for himself.

"Lord Glandore observed that though Col. Crosbie was now a distressed man, he was heir to an estate of £3,000 per annum, on the death of a gentleman eighty years of age, and that he thought there would be no difficulty in procuring for him the title of Baronet. Lord Glandore then spoke of his own services: his moving the Address on the Union, etc., etc., and stated that since the year 1790 he had received no favour whatever from Government."

Glandore's desire to return to the command of his beloved Kerry Militia was not gratified. No place could be found for Crosbie, as the Union engagements had the first claim on the Lord Lieutenant. About six months later I find him writing to Hardwicke on the subject of a fresh grievance. He was what was then called governor of the county of Kerry. In May, 1803, the Irish Executive decided to divide the office, and, of all men in the county, Colonel Crosbie was selected for the joint position. Glandore protested that never again during the Administration of Hardwicke would he trouble himself to forward the interests of the Government in Kerry. "After the sacrifice of my command of the Kerry Militia," he says, "I might have been saved this humiliation." To this angry letter the Lord Lieutenant returned the following civil reply:

"PHŒNIX PARK,
"*20th May*, 1803.

"MY LORD,

"I cannot help feeling particularly hurt at your Lordship's letter of the 20th ulto., which was delivered to me on Tuesday the 17th inst. by the Knight of Kerry. I am perfectly unconscious of any intention to offend your Lordship by the appointment of Colonel Crosbie of the Kerry Regiment of Militia to be a Governor of the County of Kerry, and am, therefore, much concerned that your Lordship should assign that appointment as a reason for your determination to decline any further concern in

the management of the interest of His Majesty's Government in that county during the time I shall continue at the head of it.

"Whether I shall be successful or not in convincing your Lordship that no personal disrespect could possibly be intended towards you in appointing Colonel Crosbie to be a Governor of the County of Kerry, I am by no means certain; but it is very far from being indifferent to me whether I am successful or not in this attempt, because I can assure your Lordship with perfect truth that I am much concerned at the manner in which you have considered it, and at the determination you have expressed. At all events, I most explicitly declare to your Lordship that the measure of appointing those Colonels of Militia who were not already Governors of Counties to that situation was intended solely to facilitate the execution of the Militia Laws; and it can never be supposed that a general measure which was adopted for the publick service at a very critical period, when I was called upon to raise the Militia with as little delay as possible, could for a moment have been construed into a ground of offence by any individual.

"When your Lordship communicated to me the circumstances which led to your resignation of the Kerry Regiment, and your wish to be restored to it, I endeavoured to explain the difficulty of accomplishing your wishes upon that subject. I should not, however, be the less gratified in finding the means of restoring your Lordship to the situation you resigned by the injustice which your Lordship has done me in imputing to me what I certainly have never felt, a want of respect and attention for your Lordship, and a disposition to add to the mortification you have felt from your resignation of the Kerry Regiment."

The subsequent development of the affair is described in the following letter from William Wickham, Chief Secretary, to Lord Glandore, and Glandore's reply:

"PHŒNIX PARK,
"*28th January*, 1804.

"MY LORD,

"I have laid before his Excellency your letter to Sir E. B. Littlehales,* of the 9th instant, informing him that you had received a packet from the Tralee post-office,

* The Military Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant.

addressed to the Governor and deputy Governor of the County of Kerry, and that your Lordship had immediately transmitted it unopened to Colonel Crosbie; and observing that it would save both time and trouble to address the Lord Lieutenant's commands relating to the business of the County of Kerry, immediately and in the first instance to that gentleman, as your Lordship must adhere to the resolution made upon the occasion of his Excellency having thought proper to appoint Colonel Crosbie to be a joint Governor of the County of Kerry, not to act while that Commission existed; and that your Lordship had explained to his Excellency your motive for the line of conduct which you felt obliged to adopt.

"I am desired to inform your Lordship that his Excellency had flattered himself that the answer which he wrote to your Lordship's letter of last spring, explaining the grounds upon which Colonel Crosbie was appointed a Governor of the County of Kerry, in common with every other Colonel of Militia in Ireland who was not previously a Governor, had been perfectly satisfactory to your Lordship, and had done away, as it was his Excellency's wish to do, and as his Excellency conceives that it might have done, any idea that the smallest slight or disrespect had been intended towards your Lordship. His Excellency is, therefore, much concerned that your Lordship should still entertain a feeling which cannot, in fairness and candour, be considered as warranted by his conduct towards you; and regrets still more that at a moment which calls for the exertion and aid of every individual, your Lordship should on your return to Ireland take a step which must be considered as a resignation of your situation as Governor of the County of Kerry, in which your exertions have been so useful on former occasions, and where no one is better entitled or better qualified to hold the situation.

"His Excellency, therefore, desires me to say that, from motives of respect and regard to your Lordship, he will postpone accepting your resignation till he is distinctly assured that your Lordship, in these times, has really determined, for the reasons you set forth, to decline all the duties that belong to the situation."

Glandore's reply is dated "Ardfert Abbey, Wednesday, 8th February, 1804." He says that the Lord Lieutenant's letter had entirely removed from his mind any

feeling that a personal incivility to him was intended in the appointment of Colonel Crosbie to be joint Governor of Kerry. But he held that such an appointment was altogether unnecessary, as the Militia Act provided for the absence of the Governor of a county in all cases. He goes on:

"Another circumstance which has its weight with me is the figure I must exhibit in the face of my county, joined with an associate where I was accustomed to take the lead and to preside alone. Much of my influence in the county is of a personal nature, and lies, in a great degree, in the southern and remote parts of the county, where I have no property, and amongst gentlemen who are as independent as I am. If I lessen myself in the eyes of my countymen I lose my use with their esteem; and if I degrade myself I cannot serve my King. This consideration I need not press upon a nobleman remarkably attached to his county honors, and who will naturally feel for a man of equal rank with himself.

"If this county has been heretofore exempted from the embarrassment of having a number of Governors appointed for it, it may be owing to this cause, amongst others, that it has come forward with such effect at every important crisis from the time when it was the first county in Ireland to express its reprobation of the armed Convention of 1783, down to the period of the Union, when it declared in favour of that great measure.

"From a thorough conviction that the office of a Governor of the County does not permit of participation, and that the duties of it cannot be discharged with a divided authority, I think I consult the public service, as well as my own honor, by retiring, conscious that in doing so I cannot incur the reproach of a dereliction of my duty, but that I am compelled to take that step from the peculiar circumstances in which I am placed."

* * *

In the List of Union Engagements—"Civil" section—will be found the case of George Browne, who was promised a permanent employment of the value of £400 a year, and was recommended by Denis Browne, member

for Mayo.* "Not done" is the Lord Lieutenant's note to the engagement. Why the engagement was not performed is related in the following letter from Hardwicke to the Marquis of Sligo, the cousin of George Browne:

"*Private.*

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*February 27th*, 1803.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"In consequence of your Lordship's letter of the 21st inst. reminding me of the engagement to Mr. George Browne, which I had received from Lord Cornwallis, I desired Mr. Marsden to offer him the two places of Customer of Waterford and Ross, the first being £250 per annum, besides a salary of £15 on the Civil List, and the second amounting in fees to about £50, with a salary also of £15 per annum, making together about £330 per annum. This is the account which appears on the books of the office; but as the fees appear to be increasing, and as the offices are perfectly sinecure, and require no residence or attendance in any particular place, I conceive they are well worth the acceptance of a gentleman who has an engagement for four hundred pounds per annum, on the expiration of his present employment of Commissioner for Suffering Loyalists. Mr. Browne, however, has de-

* Wolfe Tone, in his "Memoirs," writing on October 1, 1792, refers to a consultation with John Keogh, the leader of the Dublin Catholics in the movement for emancipation, as to their plan for holding in Dublin of a Catholic convention representing the entire nation: "Has had a letter from Myles Keon requiring somebody of the Committee to go to Ballinasloe to meet the Catholic gentry of Mayo and Galway. Denis Browne playing tricks in the former county. Recommends a separate petition, and condemns the plan. He is damned kind! Wishes, if he could, to act the patron to the Catholics that he might make a sale of 3,000,000 of clients at the Castle. A blockhead without parts or principles! But it won't do. The Catholics here smoke him. Last winter they used to stare at me for speaking contemptuously of him, a man who was brother to a Lord and a Member of Parliament. They have got over all that now. Wonderful improvement in their sentiments." On October 26, 1792, Tone writes: "Denis Browne has been playing the rascal in Mayo. Procured a meeting on the 16th, and knocked up our plan by securing the measure of a separate petition from that county. Damn him! Yet he talks of his love for the cause, etc. The Catholics were in a horrible rage. More and more losing their respect for the brothers of Lords and Members of Parliament."

clined the offer, which I am sorry for; first, because there is great reason to believe the two places exceed in value the amount at which they stand in the office books; and, secondly, because it is, of course, uncertain how soon it may be in my power to propose another situation for his acceptance."

Sligo, replying from London, March 5, 1803, says:

"When your Excellency takes into consideration that George Browne's promise of provision is of full ten years' standing, which I am ready to prove to you, and that it preceded every agreement made by Lord Cornwallis, I hope you won't think him unreasonable and unwarrantable in being disappointed at an offer considerably inferior at what he was led to expect, after waiting the perfect convenience of Government for its fulfilment. It is, however, his own act, and whatever his opinions are, if expressed in any manner of disrespect, I beg to be entirely separated from any concern whatever in them. I believe that your Excellency will find that of the employments offer'd to Mr. Browne there must be a deduction of sixty pounds for a deputy, which leaves him somewhat short of £200 a year for his life, without a prospect of raising—a situation not so comfortable as immediately to reconcile the mind of a man of very moderate expectations from some share of disappointment. Had it been your Excellency's convenience to have named him to Crosbie's place, an arrangement might have been made between him and my brother-in-law, John Mahon, that would have given much happiness to the family.*

Evidently there was disappointment also among the Irish Members of Parliament, for Lord Sligo goes on to write:

"The Irish here murmur in private a good deal; their situations are not comfortable; they consider themselves not taken notice of. Party men blow the coals—

* It was this sinecure of Customer of Waterford and Ross which ultimately fell to Donellan, brother-in-law of Lord Fingall (See "The Catholics and the Union.") The post which George Browne desired, the sinecure of the Weighmastership of Cork, at £600 a year—vacant through the death of Crosbie—was given to Sir Vere Hunt in satisfaction of his Union engagement. (See "The Scramble for Place.")

I have seen it going forward—and ere it is long be assured they will be a troublesome set to manage."

* * *

Still another disappointed supporter of the Union was Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart., the well-known author of "The History of the Rebellion of 1798." For a quarter of a century he was a prominent member of the Irish Parliament, noted for his fanatic prejudice against his Catholic fellow-countrymen. He was an out-and-out supporter of the Union, and got his reward from Lord Cornwallis in the post of the Collectorship of Dublin; but he looked upon the office as a very inadequate return for his services. Accordingly, he laid his grievance before Hardwicke:

"I take the liberty of addressing your Excellency on the subject of the Memorial, of which I had the honour of presenting you a copy. I sat twenty-five years in the Irish Parliament, and I can appeal to Mr. Hamilton, the predecessor of Mr. Cooke, whether I did not during that period display the most ardent zeal in serving the Crown, particularly as a country gentleman, in consequence of which the Government had such confidence in me that they called upon me at different times to fill the office of Sheriff in the County of Waterford; but particularly in the year 1786, a most perilous season, when the insurrection and disturbances of the Rightboys, a Popish banditti, as alarming as those of the Whiteboys, their predecessors, or of the Defenders, who succeeded them. I was so fortunate as to gain the approbation of Administration, having restored peace and social order without the loss of a single life.*

* "Whilst he was High Sheriff for the County of Waterford an old man was sentenced to be whipped at the cart's tail for some political offence, when, the executioner not being in readiness, the High Sheriff—a Baronet and Member of Parliament—took up the cat-o'-nine-tails, ordered the cart to move on slowly, and operated himself with admirable expertness, but much greater severity than the hangman would have used! Thus did he proceed to whip the old man through the streets of the city, and when the extreme point was reached, and he was scarcely able to lift his arm, he publicly regretted he had not a little further to go."—BARRINGTON: "Personal Sketches and Recollections of his Own Times."

"In the years 1794 and 1795 I wrote and published some pamphlets in London in support of the Constitution against Republican principles, and to evince the policy and necessity of the War, and they met the public approbation, which appears by the Reviews, particularly the Monthly of May, 1795. In the years 1797 and 1798, I wrote more in the publick prints against treason and sedition than any individual in Ireland, under the well-known signature of Camillus, and my essays were so much approved of in London that the Editor of the *Sun* reprinted some of them. For my attack on two distinguished personages, who promoted rebellion in Ireland, I take the liberty of referring your Excellency to the *Dublin Journal* of June 23rd and July 12th, 1798, which are to be seen in the Castle.

"The Duke of Portland, whose friendship and esteem I have enjoyed all my life, informed me that my services should be amply requited, and his Grace recommended me to Lord Camden, who promised to give me an employment; but the number of his engagements and his sudden and unexpected departure from Ireland prevented him from fulfilling his intentions, but he recommended me to Lord Cornwallis.

"To carry the Union it was necessary to dispense the favours of the Crown in such a manner as to gain the venal, to silence the factious, and to obtain the co-operation of those who opposed it from selfish and sinister designs. As my attachment to Government was well known, and as I offered unconditionally to support the Union, I was, of course, postponed in the list of expectants to those who could bully and threaten and make a bargain beforehand, which I abhorred. I obtained an employment with more labour and responsibility and less emolument in proportion than any under the Crown."

Musgrave goes on to say that his salary as Collector of Dublin was £490; that he had an allowance of £130 for the collection of hearth money, and another allowance of £200 for two clerks, making a total of £820 a year. But so heavy was the work of his office, owing to the increase in new taxes, that he was obliged to employ four clerks, to whom he paid £400, so that his salary amounted only to £420. He further states that the Collector of the County of Dublin had £1,500; that the Collector of the

Port of Dublin had £2,000; and that those officials had little to do, and did it badly. Two years later, in December, 1804, Musgrave sent a fresh memorial to the Lord Lieutenant, again claiming a better situation in recognition of his services to the State, "particularly," as he says, "since the dissemination of French principles has threatened the subversion of our Constitution." The business of Collector of Dublin had so much increased of late, he says, that he never left his office without feeling greatly fatigued.

"I am responsible for £600,000 a year," he goes on, "every shilling of which I must pay out of my own property if I do not collect and account for it; and a considerable part of the Revenue which I collect consists of sums under five shillings. I recovered lately, by a *finesse*, large sums of money which were due for malt and wine in 1803, and which were considered as irrecoverable."

Nothing further, however, was done for Sir Richard Musgrave.

* * *

Even the Rev. Thomas Brooke Clarke, D.D., was left among the disappointed. I am disposed to think that Hardwicke entertained a contempt for him, despite, or perhaps I should say because of, his fulsome protestations of attachment to the Lord Lieutenant, and his offers of service on every occasion that afforded an excuse for bringing himself under the notice of his Excellency. At any rate, Hardwicke sent him the following cold acknowledgment of his last application—so far as I can discover from the contents of the Viceroy's Postbag—for preferment in Ireland:

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*8th June*, 1804.

"DEAR SIR,

"If you had been acquainted with the real state of the engagements by which I am unavoidably bound, you would have been convinced of the impossibility of my applying any of the preferments, which may become

vacant by the succession to the see of Clonfert, in the manner you would wish. In saying this, I wish you to understand that I am in no degree surprised or hurt at your having made the application contained in your late letters, but that the objects which you may have supposed to be at liberty are, from circumstances, not properly within my power."

Clarke, however, was still most warmly thankful, and still his Excellency's most humble admirer. Here is his letter:

"ALSOP BUILDINGS, MARYLEBONE.
"*22 June*, 1804.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"Accept my thanks for your Excellency's kind letter, which is perfectly consonant with that goodness so well known and esteemed by me during four-and-twenty years. Certainly, the implicit confidence which I placed in the reiterated promises of preferment made to me by Mr. Dundas for services solicited by him on this condition, and for the completion of which he repeatedly pledged his own name and the name of Mr. Pitt, never permitted me to suppose at the moment that to this compact, formed with one of His Majesty's Ministers on the public faith of Government, it was necessary to demand a formal writing, whereby the Irish Government would become bound, as a Party, to secure my preferment. Consequently, as no such written engagement was handed over to your Excellency, though you are not wholly without knowledge of Mr. Dundas's arrangements with me, nor of my services, for the better performance of which I relinquished other occupations, on the solemn previous assurances of Mr. Dundas that I should be amply remunerated, and have sustained a loss, notwithstanding, of two years' income, which I have felt deeply, not only in my fortune, but in what no fortune can compensate for—my feelings.

"Yet, my Lord, I am devoid of every claim on the Viceroy of Ireland. I therefore approached your Excellency lately on the sole ground of personal kindness, and benevolent promises made to me, in case an opportunity should occur during your Viceroyalty. But I really was not aware that the mortgages handed over to you were of such an extent or nature as to embrace the vacancies made by episcopal preferments during

your Excellency's Government, or I certainly should not have presumed to intrude myself on your remembrance, whatever my anxiety might have been lest objects great in number and moment should have concealed my little concern from your Excellency's view.

"Be assured, my Lord, that my confidence in your goodness is deeply rooted in a long knowledge of it, and that I have the honor to be with high respect and faithful attachment, your Excellency's obliged, sincere, and humble servant,

"THOS. B. CLARKE."

* * *

The famous Richard Martin of Ballinahinch, co. Galway, "the animals' friend," makes a strange and unexpected appearance in the Viceroy's Post-bag. He was one of the greatest of the Irish landlords, his estate of 200,000 acres extending—as he used to boast—thirty miles from the door of his castle. A member of the Irish House of Commons, he supported the Union, and continued to represent the county of Galway in the Imperial Parliament until 1826. In the Parliamentary annals of the first quarter of the nineteenth century he figures as a whimsical member; but in 1822 he carried the first Act of Parliament "to prevent the cruel and improper treatment of animals," an achievement that will ever shed a halo round his name. "Humanity Martin" was the title bestowed on him by George IV. He was one of the founders of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, at a meeting held at Slaughter's Coffee-House, St. Martin's Lane, on June 24, 1824;* and his portrait

* "It was a thin meeting—that I recall; but the Irish-heartedness of Martin gave it warmth, fervour, and energy. I do not believe there was another person present so sanguine as to think that Parliament would ever be the protector of a 'lower world.' Yet the advocates had not long to wait. It is but a faint remembrance I have of the scene, but I can clearly call to mind Dick uttering an oath, essentially Irish, 'That by J—— he'd make 'em do it!' and somehow he did. Thus the wild, energetic, heedless, and usually unreasoning Irishman is for this act classed, and rightly so, among the benefactors of his country and all other countries of the Old World and the New."—S. C. HALL: "Recollections of a Long Life."

hangs in the board-room of the society in Jermyn Street. In the Viceroy's Post-bag Martin is conspicuous among the sleepless hunters for places in return for services to the cause of the Union. The truth is that, though he was almost the feudal sovereign of Connemara, he was ever in pecuniary difficulties. His estate, wide as it was in extent, yielded him but little income, so heavily was it mortgaged.

To begin with, here is a letter to the Viceroy from Lord Dunlo—Martin's colleague in the representation of Galway—complaining of Martin's conduct at a county meeting to express, in an address to the King, its abhorrence and condemnation of the Emmet Insurrection of 1803:

"*Private.*

"GALBALLY,
"*August* 14, 1803.

"MY LORD,

"I think it my duty to inform your Excellency that an address will be forwarded to you from a meeting of the county of Galway, called for the purpose of addressing his Majesty on the late treasonable insurrection in Dublin, and for the purpose of expressing the loyalty of the inhabitants of the county, and their hearty co-operation with Government against every enemy, foreign and domestic.

"The result of this meeting was, however, somewhat dissimilar to that projected. The address was, with the exception of the last paragraph (marked in the enclosed copy), proposed by my Lord Clonbrock, and with that exception would have formed such an address as ought to have been presented to his Majesty in the present crisis.* Mr. Martin, my colleague, thought otherwise,

* The paragraph referred to, added to the address on the motion of Mr. Martin, is as follows: "We beg leave to assure your Majesty that it is the opinion of your faithful subjects that the removal of every civil distinction arising from religious difference of opinion between your Majesty's Catholic and other subjects in this kingdom would materially tend to invigorate every exertion of the loyal, and to defeat even the pretext of the wicked to subvert our happy Constitution." It must be mentioned that Martin supported every motion in favour of Catholic Emancipation in the Imperial Parliament.

and whether with a mistaken view of raising his own popularity, or from some other cause which I confess myself unable to divine, he has thought it necessary to stir a question which, whatever may be the sentiment of the individual, few men would wish to have agitated at the present period.

"To the address, as originally framed, it was thought that no dissenting voice could be found among the gentlemen of the county; but upon its proposal those who were most anxious that a moment should not be lost in those expressions of loyalty for which the times so imperiously call were somewhat surprised at a motion being made by a friend of Mr. Martin's that a committee should be appointed to draw up an address, and conceiving that something more than ordinarily disloyal had given rise to a motion of this sort, in naming the committee they were only intent upon choosing those of known attachment to our happy form of Government. The majority of the persons chosen were of this description; but not dreaming that any proposition could be made foreign to the requisition, the majority was likewise either Catholic, or too nearly so to be distinguished by any other appellation. Mr. Martin's amendment to the original address, moved by himself, was a matter of absolute surprise; and in consequence of the formation of the committee was carried after much altercation; and as fighting such a battle at the meeting in so Catholic a town as Galway could only tend immediately to disturb, and among the rabble, privately convened for the purpose of following the leader, would have been unattended with success, it was thought prudent to let the matter pass in utter silence upon the report. The representatives of the county are, therefore, to forward the address; and I have left my signature to a letter for this purpose with Mr. Martin at Galway, in order that the address may be conveyed to your Excellency for the purpose of transmission.

"With respect to this county there is little to regret in this procedure. Almost the whole of the respectability of the county are hostile to an addition to the address which seems to propose a kind of condition for their loyalty, and very many of the most wealthy and respectable county gentlemen of the Catholic persuasion, altho' at the time they gave a tacit assent to the propo-

sition of Mr. Martin, have since much regretted their not having withstood it to the utmost of their power. The evil does not, then, exist as peculiarly affecting this county, but it does exist in its probable effects upon others. The thing to be apprehended is the bearing of such an amendment upon other counties of Ireland, and that in this moment of addresses to the Crown, necessarily called forth from present circumstances, this our address to his Majesty may furnish an example of dwelling upon the same point, and consequently calling forth other counties, some of different sentiments, as strongly to state their feelings, and by equal consequence fomenting those religious feuds which have too often proved a curse to this island, and the existence of which can at no time be more dangerous than at the present moment.

"Your Excellency will be pleased to give directions that the official answer to the joint letter transmitting the address may be directed to Mr. Martin and myself at Galway."

Ten months later Hardwicke sent the following letter to Sir Evan Nepean, the Chief Secretary, who was in London at the time attending to his Parliamentary duties:

"PHŒNIX PARK,
"*June* 17, 1804.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Mr. Martin, one of the members for the county of Galway, who called upon me by appointment two or three days ago, made a very long statement of grievances, with a view to ascertaining upon what footing he was to stand with the present Government, and whether his support was thought to be worth having. After complaining of the marked preference which had been shown to his colleague, Lord Dunlo, and his family, he proceeded to state that before the Union Lord Castlereagh proposed to him a place at the Revenue Board, and that he had a positive promise of being placed there on the first vacancy. That, however, from consideration of the Government, and knowing how much they were pressed, he waived his pretensions in favour of another person. That he was afterwards appointed to the Board of Accounts, Lord Castlereagh telling him that it was in order that he might have a place tenable with Parlia-

ment, and that he should be afterwards removed to a seat at the Revenue Board.

"He further stated that his present colleague, Lord Dunlo, then Mr. Trench, was hostile to the Union, and supported an address from the county of Galway against the measure. Afterwards, when by the persuasion of Lord Castlereagh, Lord Dunlo agreed to support the Union, he found himself considerably embarrassed by the pledge he had given to the county, and by the line he had taken, and that without his, Mr. Martin's, assistance he could not have been at liberty to support the Union. Mr. Martin then stated that, notwithstanding what had passed before, he procured an address at a meeting of the county of Galway in favour of the Union, which justified Mr. Trench in changing his opinion and in voting for the measure.

"The first disappointment he met with was being obliged to quit his office without obtaining another tenable with a seat in Parliament. It was true that he had been permitted to recommend a successor who had given him £4,000 for it. But he has certainly been refused everything he asked, amongst other things, a place for Mr. Coney—either an Assistant Barrister's place or a Commissionership of Appeals—notwithstanding what he considers a promise from Mr. Abbot; that upon this point he had received an answer from Mr. Wickham which he considered as more than uncivil; a seat at the Linen Board, the County Regiment, which is to be perpetuated in one family; and, in short, whilst his colleague and his family have been loaded with favors, he is put in the "poussiere" by him—as he expressed it—and slighted by the Government.

"I endeavoured to convince Mr. Martin that it was not owing to any unwillingness to oblige him that he had not been gratified in the particular objects he had mentioned. In the first place, the place at the Board of Accounts was not tenable with a seat in Parliament, under the Act which passed after the Union, and the best was done for him that could be done under the circumstances of the case. With respect to the Linen Board, there had been engagements which prevented his appointment; and as to the Regiment, I thought Lord Dunlo had a strong claim to it.

"When he said that he wished to travel on with the Government and to support it, I said that I was glad to

hear it, for that I rather apprehended from his adding to the county of Galway address to the King last August a paragraph upon a subject which, it had not then been wished to bring forward, it had been conceived he had intended to oppose the Government. He defended this by saying that he meant, certainly, to show that he was hurt; that Lord Dunlo had drawn up an address which had never been communicated to him till it was proposed and read in court at the county meeting; that in the address after the breaking out of the War in May, 1803, he had proposed what he thought a proper draft for the address, and one that had been much approved; but the Bishop of Waterford had proposed to leave out a paragraph which tended rather to express approbation of the Peace; that he conceived the Bishop's object was to ingratiate himself with the party who had opposed the Peace, and which he thought might come into power in consequence of the War.

"The result of the conversation was that he proposes to go to England, and that he would support the present Ministry if he could obtain the promise of a seat at the Treasury Board. I told him that I knew of a promise or two for those situations; that at any rate I should make no engagement till I could communicate with Mr. Pitt, either directly or through you; that I would immediately write to you an account of his object, and that you would explain to him the difficulties as well as the favourable chances; but that I could not write to you if he had made up his mind to go into Opposition. He concluded by saying that he had by no means determined to oppose Government, and that he wished to support it if he was properly treated. Now, I fear it will be difficult to obtain Mr. Martin's support upon these conditions, for Sir J. Stewart and Knox have both claims for one of these offices; and Sir Lawrence Parsons is, I believe, a candidate also. Knox has an engagement for restitution to the Revenue Board, a thousand per annum; but the equitable construction of his engagement is an office tenable with Parliament. How these and other pretensions are to be reconciled with Martin's claims I know not. He further added that he had great power in the county of Galway; that Lord Dunlo's family would not be able to bring in a member on Lord Clancarty's death; but that he (Martin) could turn the scale, and that Bowes Daly would probably be the man."

The following, which is described by Hardwicke as "Secret Mem. for Nepean," is dated December 17, 1804:

"Lord Dunlo's letter contains a very fair statement of the county of Galway, and a very fair one of his own situation. It also shows the necessity of securing Martin, if any means can be found. As to the regiment of Militia, I apprehend Martin only brings it forward because from knowing the difficulties and objections which stand in the way of such an arrangement he conceives, by making a point of it, he shall place himself upon higher ground for something more solid. In truth he would derive little emolument from it at present, which is what he wants, and none after the War.

"As to a sinecure place which can be considered as at all attainable, there is no other than that held by Mr. Vesey Knox, viz., one of the Weighmasterships of Cork, which he has offered to relinquish if the lives of his elder brother's two sons were inserted in the patent of Prothonotary of the Common Pleas, instead of his own—*i.e.*, of Mr. Vesey Knox. If this would secure Mr. Martin I think, considering his influence in Galway, it would be worth the price; but before the question is asked, on the other side, how far the King's consent would be given to such an extension of the reversion, it will be necessary to ascertain whether Mr. Knox will agree that his brother, Vesey Knox, shall resign the Weighmastership of Cork, independently of its being given to George Knox, in satisfaction, or towards the satisfaction, of his engagement. I think he would be likely to object to it upon that ground, unless a mode were found of accommodating George Knox at the same time, which might be done by giving him the vacant seat at the Board of Treasury.

"But Martin would probably say that a place of £600 per annum, though a sinecure, would be short of his expectations, and then would come the question of making up the difference. This can only be done by a secret engagement, or by a direct sum of money equivalent to it, and there are ample means for either from the savings of the King's Civil List, which amount now to between eleven and twelve thousand pounds. This money ought to be paid without loss of time to the King's Privy Purse; and as much of it as may be wanted for such secret purposes returned immediately for such

an application. Should any such plan, which, of course, requires the greatest secrecy and management, be brought to bear it might be expedient to pay Martin by instalments.

"There seems to be no other mode of securing Martin; for the Privy Council and a seat at the Treasury are equally out of the question, and he wants something more solid than the former."

The next letter on the subject is one dated May 18, 1805, from Hardwicke to N. Vansittart, who had, meantime, succeeded Nepean as Chief Secretary for Ireland, and was then in London. It is marked "Private and Confidential." From it we learn that Lord Clancarty was dead, and that a vacancy in the representation of Galway county was created by the succession of his son, Lord Dunlo, to the earldom. Bowes Daly was in the field; the Government candidate had not then been selected, but there was to be a contest, and it was certain that the winner would be the candidate who was supported by Martin. The Lord Lieutenant goes on:

"It is still said that Mr. Martin is not engaged to Mr. Bowes Daly, and that he would be ready to make his bargain with the Government, if his terms could be complied with. Before the meeting of Parliament Mr. Martin had several conversations with Sir Evan Nepean for the purpose of offering himself to Government; and though a specific offer was made to him it was not found possible to fix him in support of Government. The offer that was made to him was the office of Weighmaster of Cork, worth £600 per annum, and tenable with a seat in Parliament. It was to be obtained, and is still to be obtained, from Mr. Knox, the present possessor, by giving an equivalent to his elder brother in the extension of the reversion of the office of Prothonotary of the Common Pleas—now held for the lives of the Honourable Thomas and the Honourable Vesey Knox, his brother—to his two sons, either by adding them to the Patent, or, if thought preferable, by substituting them in the place of the Honourable Vesey Knox. This offer was made last year, by way

of facilitating the satisfaction of the engagement to Mr. George Knox, who has since been made a Lord of the Treasury; and upon the same terms the office might still be opened. Mr. Martin, however, required a thousand per annum; and here, I believe, no equivalent was proposed. As, however, Mr. Martin wished to be purchased, and conceived the Government wished to purchase him, it was supposed that if the money arising from the savings of the Civil List had been sent over means might have been found to have satisfied Mr. Martin as to the remainder of his e..,ectations.

"Whether anything passed between him and Sir Evan Nepean upon this subject I know not. But I mention such particulars as came to my knowledge, lest you should not have been informed of them; and that Mr. Martin's interest in the county of Galway, which I believe would be decisive, should be thought material, and I consider it to be more so than his personal vote in Parliament.* No time is to be lost, if any overture is to be made to him."

Two days later the Lord Lieutenant sent a despatch to Vansittart in London "by express," announcing that "Mr. Eyre has consented to oppose Bowes Daly." "As Mr. Martin," his Excellency says, "is pledged to support him, and his agent has instructions to that effect, it is extremely possible that Mr. Bowes Daly may fail."†

* "He was almost idolized by the people over whom he ruled in wild Connemara. I heard this anecdote from one of his descendants. A rumour reached the district that the packet in which he was crossing from England to Ireland had been wrecked. Amid the lamentations, dismay, and confusion of the household in Ballinahinch, one aged woman retained self-possession, and was heard to say: 'No one need be afeared for the master, for if he was in the midst of a raging sea the prayers of widows and orphans would keep his head above water.'"—S. C. HALL: "Retrospect of a Long Life."

† Martin was defeated at the Galway election of 1826, and withdrawing to Boulogne to escape his creditors, he died there on January 6, 1834, aged seventy-nine years. The Ballinahinch property was sold under the Encumbered Estates Act, which followed the terrible famine of 1847-48. Martin's grand-daughter, Mrs. Bell Martin, a novelist, once known as "The Princess of Connemara," died, according to Webb's "Compendium of Irish Biography," in indigent circumstances in New York in 1850.

* * *

But perhaps the most curious story of all the Union engagements is told in a letter of complaint to the Viceroy from the Honourable George Knox, M.P. for Dublin University (a son of Viscount Northland,* in the Irish Peerage), whose name appears in the correspondence relating to Richard Martin. On reference to the List of Union Engagements—"Civil" section—it will be seen that his case is thus mysteriously referred to: "Mr. George Knox—Dismissed from the Revenue Board. Promised restitution, £1,000 per annum," and to it Hardwicke has the following note: "Not done, because seat at the Revenue Board is incompatible with his seat in Parliament. Query—How can this debt be paid now?" The matter is made clear in Knox's letter.

In the Irish House of Commons of 1799 there were seventy-two members who either held places or pensions under the Crown, or were Generals or Staff Officers.† The vast majority were place-holders or pensioners. Among them was George Knox,‡ one of the members for Dublin University, who held the office of Commissioner of the Revenue, at a salary of £1,000 per annum.

So much is needed by way of preface to the letter. It is dated "Dublin, January 26, 1804," and thus begins:

"It is but too evident to me that from the lapse of

* This title is now merged in the Earldom of Ranfurly. The eldest brother of George Knox, who succeeded to the title of Northland, was created Earl of Ranfurly. Another brother was Dr. Knox, Bishop of Killaloe, whose Union engagement is dealt with in "The Hunt for Bishoprics."

† The number of placemen and pensioners was increased in the session of 1800. The protest against the Union, drawn up by the Opposition in the form of an address to the King, says: "Of those who voted for the Union we beg leave to inform your Majesty that seventy-six had places under the Crown, and others were under the immediate influence of constituents who held great offices under the Crown."

‡ George Knox was a follower of Henry Grattan in the Irish House of Commons. During the discussion in Committee of the famous Act of 1793, which extended the franchise in counties to Catholic forty-shilling freeholders, Knox, then member for the borough of Dungannon, moved as an amendment that "Roman Catholics should be permitted to hold seats in Parliament." It was rejected by a majority of 94—for 69, against 163.

time, and from the changes which have taken place in the Irish Government, my claims are insensibly wearing out of the recollection of Administration, and that although the longer they remain unsatisfied the greater force they ought naturally to acquire, yet they are likely from being so long postponed to be altogether forgotten and never discharged."

Knox, therefore, asks his Excellency's indulgence while he describes, at length, the nature of his claim on the Government:

"Previous to the proposition for a Union having been submitted to the Irish Parliament by Lord Cornwallis, Lord Abercorn was assisting Government with eight votes in the House of Commons. Four members were returned for his two boroughs; one seat had been furnished to him by Lord Belmore in return for his not contesting the county of Tyrone; my father furnished him with two from his borough of Dungannon, and I, as a member for the College, was of his party in the House.

"My election for the College had taken place at a time when the name of the Union seemed to be as unpopular at the Castle as throughout the country, and when a resistance to separation was the great and only object of the Government. One of my anti-clients, more deep-sighted than the rest, asked me, previous to his giving his vote, what I thought of the Union. My answer was that I thought a Union of Crowns and a separation of Legislatures the best Constitution for Ireland; that I did not foresee any case in which I should change my opinion; but that if it ever should become *bonâ fide* a question between Union and Separation, I should decide for the former. This answer was extremely well received, and was considered as a blow to the Separatists at the time. As there never appeared to me to have arisen afterwards a question, *bonâ fide* between Separation and Union (whatever might be urged argumentatively and taking remote consequences into view), I continued to adhere to the sentiments which I had expressed upon the hustings.

"As soon as the Government had come to a determination on the subject of the Union, notice was given to all placemen, and to me among the number, that if

they did not vote for the measure they would be turned out. This declaration caused a great outcry. Some were actually dismissed. Others kept their places and gave up their opinions. Lord Abercorn, who thought, considering the great strength which he furnished the Government, that he had a right to require an exception in favour of his friend, insisted that I should be allowed to retain my office on pain of turning his force against the Government. Accordingly, when I left the Priory, in order to be present at the meeting of Parliament, he directed me to desire his Members to vote against the Union if I should be deprived of my office; notwithstanding which, my first act on my arrival in Dublin was to send in my resignation, and thus release Lord Abercorn and the Government from any embarrassment on my score. I need not tell your Excellency what commendations my conduct received from Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh on that occasion; but your Excellency no doubt knows that that transaction was made one of the charges against me at my last election, and was considered by the democratic party a forfeiture of my claims to the representation."

The question of the Union was first brought forward on the Address in reply to the King's Speech at the opening of the session 1799. Knox says that all Lord Abercorn's members but he voted for it. The Government, as we know, were defeated in this first encounter.

"Elated with their victory, the Anti-Unionists determined to pursue their advantage," Knox goes on, "and by keeping the Anti-Unionists together to form a body which should overpower the Administration and effect a change of Ministry."

Lord Corry (the son of Lord Belmore), an Anti-Unionist, moved that the House should at once resolve itself into a Committee on the State of the Nation, and announced his intention to propose in Committee an address to the King declaring that a separate independent Parliament was essential to the progress and prosperity of Ireland. The expectation was that the motion would be carried by the same majority as had expunged from

the Address the passage in favour of the Union. But Knox—according to himself—frustrated this movement to form the Anti-Unionists into a regular Opposition against the Government.

"I," says he, "at the hazard of my seat and of my popularity, rose the earliest in the debate, and in the warmest manner declared my dissent from the motion. The consequence was that it was lost, and no attempt was afterwards made to organize any systematic Opposition party out of the Anti-Unionists. Here again I was told I had saved the Government."

He then goes on :

"When the time came for appointing a Commissioner in my room, I was sent for by Lord Cornwallis who informed me that it was with the greatest regret that he was obliged, in order to carry into effect a general principle, to deprive of his place a person who had been of such material service to the Government; but he added that 'the moment that the question was decided one way or the other, that moment I should be reinstated.' And Lord Castlereagh, whom I saw by his own desire the day following, bid me be assured that the Government were determined that I should be no loser, notwithstanding my resignation of my office.

"The Union was brought forward next Session and carried,* and, shortly after, Lord Cornwallis and Lord

* Knox opposed the Union to the end. On February 14, 1800, in the last session, he delivered what Lecky describes as "a short but very remarkable speech" against the Union. He even predicted that a discontented and unguided Ireland might one day become, in the English-speaking world, as formidable a source and centre of aggressive Jacobinism as France had been on the Continent, and that the poison of its baneful influence might extend to the farthest limits of the civilized globe. It was a bold and, as many must have thought, a most extraordinary prediction. Could there, it might be asked, be any real comparison either for good or for evil between a small remote island in the Atlantic and the great nation which had for centuries exercised a dominant influence over the ideas and fortunes of Europe, and which had acquired in its recent transformation a volcanic fury that had shaken Christendom to its basis? Yet he who has traced the part which Irish Jacobinism has played during the last generation in those great English-speaking

Castlereagh retired from office, and your Excellency and Mr. Abbott were appointed to succeed them. When I called upon your Excellency to know what instructions Lord Cornwallis had left on my subject, I was both astonished and mortified to find that I was not to be in the contemplation of Government until every person who had voted for the Union had been provided for, and when your Lordship showed me, with expressions of regret, a long list of prior claims, and that it should appear after all that the length of time I had been without office was not to be taken into consideration, nor any regard had to the services I had performed, that I was not to be restored the moment the question was decided, nor that I was, in consequence of the favourable conduct which I had pursued towards the Government, 'not to be a very great loser.' "

Knox admits that he had been offered by Hardwicke the office of Secretary to the Treasury, with a salary of £1,000 a year, in satisfaction of his claim; but he was compelled to refuse it, he explains, on the ground that its acceptance would involve the resignation of his seat in the Imperial Parliament for Dublin University, and, as he was certain to be opposed on seeking re-election, he was doubtful whether he would ever return again to Westminster. Moreover, as he desired to remain in Parliamentary life he could not go back to his old place on the Board of Revenue—even if the post were offered to him—for by an Act passed at the time of the Union the members of the Board were disqualified from sitting in the Imperial Parliament. What he wanted was a sinecure, such as the office of Postmaster-General for Ireland, to which in those days no duties seem to have been attached. In conclusion he puts the following question to the Lord Lieutenant:

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nations on which the future of the world most largely depends, who has examined the principles and precedents it has introduced to legislation, the influence it has exercised on public life and morals, and on the type and character of public men, may well doubt whether the prediction of Knox was even an exaggeration.—LECKY: "Ireland in the Eighteenth Century."

"Had I made any stipulation with Government either at the time that I resigned my office, or at the introduction of Lord Cornwallis's motion, can anyone believe that they would not gladly have promised me more than I at present ask?"

The Lord Lieutenant's reply, which is dated January 27, 1804, is not very sympathetic. He tells Knox plainly that he has no grievance. Was he not offered the post of Secretary to the Treasury, worth £1,000 a year? His Excellency's desire was to fulfil to the letter the Union engagements of his predecessor. "That I have adhered to those engagements in the strictest sense," he says, "has been commended repeatedly by Lord Cornwallis." He should personally be very happy to have the opportunity of fulfilling Knox's claim in a manner satisfactory to the hon. gentleman; but he was unable, in the interest of the public service, to promise him the reversion of the office of Postmaster-General.

Knox wrote, in rejoinder, another long letter. One extract will show its temper. In it he alludes to the appointment of William Conyngham Plunket as Solicitor-General:

"I have endeavoured to merit the favour of Government during your Excellency's Administration. By referring me to Lord Cornwallis's engagement, and to a strict interpretation of that, your Excellency tells me fairly that my efforts have been unsuccessful. I witness an elevation of one of the most inveterate foes of Government to one of the highest offices in the State, and yet it seems to excite surprise that I should ask for a reversion of an office comparatively of no consequence, and bearing to it in emolument the proportion of about one-third. From this I learn that the way to Court favour is through a labyrinth of which I have not the clue, and that when I think my object is nearest to its attainment I find myself in a path which leads me insensibly away. It is time for me, therefore, to cease to disquiet myself or to trouble your Excellency. What I have written I leave to your Excellency's cool reflections, and whatever they may produce I shall submit to, at least with silence."

However, over a year later, in March, 1805, George Knox was offered and accepted the post of Lord of the Treasury. On seeking re-election for Dublin University he was opposed by Mr. Forster (nephew of the last Speaker of the Irish House of Commons), but with all the influence of the Irish Administration on his side, he was again returned to Westminster.

* * *

"When your Excellency is gone I am not sanguine enough to hope that my State claims will be much regarded." So Knox wrote to the Lord Lieutenant, and though he himself was provided for before Hardwicke left Ireland, his words came true with regard to the unsatisfied claims on the List of Union Engagements. On March 12, 1806, Hardwicke wrote to Lord Grenville, the Prime Minister of the new Whig Administration, telling him the whole story of the engagements which had been entered into by Cornwallis for the purpose of carrying the Union, and which, with the sanction of the King, had been accepted by the Addington Government.

"I trust it is unnecessary to say," he writes, "that I have endeavoured to discharge these engagements faithfully, as far as my means have permitted. Indeed, the application of every object of patronage to the satisfaction of these engagements, during a period of nearly five years, have prevented me from attending to many claims of a very deserving nature incurred during my own Administration."

He asked, in conclusion, that the remaining Union Engagements, happily few in number, should be so far sanctioned by the Prime Minister and the Duke of Bedford, who was to succeed him as Viceroy of Ireland, as "to insure their being satisfied as opportunities shall arise."

Earl Spencer, the Home Secretary, replies from Whitehall on March 19, 1806:

"MY DEAR LORD,

"Lord Grenville having shown me the private List of Engagements which your Excellency wishes to leave with your successor on his arrival in Ireland, I can

only say on the subject of it that I should have great satisfaction, as far as in me lies, to promote any of your Excellency's objects contained in it; but though I understand from Lord Grenville that there will be no objection to your putting the List into the Duke of Bedford's possession, it will be quite impossible for us to give any assurances respecting the fulfilment of those engagements, though I am persuaded that the Duke of Bedford will have every disposition to pay as much attention to them as the various and pressing demands on him will permit."

Thus we come to the end of the strange and eventful story of the liquidation of the Union engagements by the Earl of Hardwicke.

BOOK II

THE EMMET INSURRECTION

CHAPTER I

ON THE EVE OF THE INSURRECTION

At a social party of students in Trinity College, Dublin, towards the close of the eighteenth century, which was a time of revolutionary ideas in Ireland, a lad named Thomas Moore, destined to be the country's national poet, played on the piano the martial strains of the ancient Gaelic air, to which, years later, he wedded the song "Let Erin remember the days of old." "Oh, that I were marching to that air at the head of 20,000 men for Ireland!" exclaimed one of the youths. It was Robert Emmet, the enthusiast and patriot, whose romantic and tragic story is one of the saddest, yet dearest, memories which Ireland cherishes from her unhappy past.

* * *

Emmet was born on March 4, 1778, in St. Stephen's Green, still the most fashionable residential quarter of Dublin, his father being one of the State physicians to the Viceregal Court. The family was originally English. They came from Kent to Ireland in the wake of Cromwell's army for the suppression of the Catholic rebellion of 1641, and in the subsequent confiscation of the properties of the defeated Irish Chiefs received a substantial grant of land in Tipperary. To call a man a "Crom-

wellian" is even to-day one of the supremest terms of aversion and contempt in the mouths of the peasantry. Yet from a Cromwellian brood came Robert Emmet, their adored political martyr. The boy entered Trinity College in October, 1793, at the age of fifteen. He was gentle, serious, earnest, "wholly free," as his fellow-student Thomas Moore says, "from the frailties of youth," fond of scientific studies, and noted in the debating society of the college for a gift of genuine oratory. His person was small and lean and wiry. The face was pallid and slightly pock-pitted. Under a brow broad and high, the eyes, gray in colour, were heavy lidded, small and searching; the nose, prominent, straight, and thin, ended in a sharp point; and the under lip of the mouth protruded like a challenge of defiance. The predominant expression was intense gravity, grim earnestness, softened by the wistful, elusive expression of a dreamer of dreams.

* * *

Dr. Emmet was so enamoured of the principles of the French Revolution, then permeating deeply the middle classes in Ireland, that he resigned his lucrative office as State physician. "Emmet," said his friend, Henry Grattan, rather unkindly, "had his pill and his plan; and he mixed so much politics with his prescription that he would kill the patient who took the one, and ruined the country that listened to the other." He inspired his two surviving sons, Thomas Addis and Robert, with the conviction that the best and most natural form of government was the republican, and that until an Irish Republic was established real progress and true liberty in the country was impossible. Thomas Addis Emmet, who first practised as a physician in conjunction with his father, and subsequently joined the Irish Bar, was one of the ablest members of the Directory of the United Irishmen which organized the Rebellion of 1798. Robert, fourteen years younger than Thomas, and only nineteen, was also in the conspiracy. In April, 1798, an inquiry

was held by Lord Clare, as Vice-Chancellor of Dublin University, to ascertain the extent of the revolutionary movement among the students of Trinity College. Robert Emmet declined to attend for examination. In a letter to the Board he denounced the inquiry as an attempt to force the students to act the hateful part of informers. He demanded the removal of his name from the books of the College. This was refused, and he was expelled as contumacious.

* * *

The Rebellion of 1798 was suppressed, and two years later the Union of Great Britain and Ireland was effected. For the first two years of the Hardwicke Administration a great calm seems to have settled upon Ireland. Here is a letter from the Viceroy's Post-bag, written by Lord Castlereagh on August 18, 1801, from Harrogate, where he is "taking the waters," raising a pæan of rejoicing over the wonderful success of the Union :

"I sincerely congratulate your Excellency upon the present tranquillity of Ireland. The Union has already apparently discharged the public mind of a greater portion of the political mischief which has incessantly disturbed it for the last twenty-five years than its most sanguine friend could have expected. The politics of Ireland no longer afford a field for separate speculation and exertion, and there remains in fact but one great question which can hereafter produce any particular fermentation in that portion of the United Kingdom. Whatever may be the fate of the question, I rejoice to observe that the Catholic body have shown no disposition at this moment, by pressing their objects, to add to our embarrassments during a period of War."

The absence from the Hardwicke correspondence of alarmist reports from country magistrates at this period is also evidence that all was well in the provinces. There is one report from a magistrate, but though it is endorsed "secret information," it is more amusing than perturbing in its character. It purports to relate the

curious experiences of Frederick Henry Hampden Dutton, "late a quartermaster in the corps of artificers and drivers attached to the Royal Irish Artillery," which were told on oath before Mr. Francis Carleton, a justice of the peace, in the town of Newry, on August 30, 1801:

"That on the evening of the 10th day of July John Russell came up to him on the Canal quay, near to the Infantry Barracks, and placed himself before deponent in a very insulting and daring posture, staring deponent fully in the face and out of countenance, when deponent asked him if he wished to speak or say anything to him. Said Russell answered with a disdainful sneer, 'Speak to you! speak to you! What should I have to say to you, you informing vagabond?' Deponent replied, 'Then, sir, please to let me pass without insulting me,' and walked on. Said Russell walked up close to deponent, and putting himself in an attitude as if he were going to strike at deponent, said, 'Sure, no honest man will let such an informing rascal as you pass without insulting you.' 'Then, sir,' replied deponent, 'I will have recourse to Law. I hope there are laws existing that will protect me from insults.' Said Russell answered, 'You Law! you Law! You be damned, you informing vagabond! Your day is over. You abandoned wretch. Your day is over, and your reward awaits you.' Deponent asked what reward awaited him, and was answered by said Russell, 'The reward that awaits every informing rascal like you,' and said, 'I suppose you have pistols about you?' Deponent answered, 'No, sir, I have not; perhaps you have?' Said Russell answered, 'No, you scoundrel, I dare walk without them.' Deponent replied, 'So dare I.' Deponent then attempted to turn away from said Russell, who said, 'Come, sir, walk on here.' Deponent said, 'Where, sir, would you wish that I should walk to?' Said Russell answered, 'Come on, sir, out of the sight of the barrack.' Deponent asked for what purpose he would wish him to go out of sight of the barrack? Said Russell answered, 'Until I trample you under my feet. Sure I could put you to death in one moment.' Deponent then hastened away from said Russell, who repeatedly called aloud after him, 'Go be damned, you informer!' and language to that effect."

* * *

But England was still at war with France; the menace of a French invasion hung over Ireland, and the Irish Executive was not disposed entirely to accept this tranquil aspect of things as a sure indication of the real state of feeling in the country. Marsden, the Under-Secretary, asked for a report from his trustiest and most important secret agent. This was Leonard MacNally, barrister-at-law. He was popularly known in these troublous times as "MacNally the Incorruptible." Years after he had gone to his rest in all the odour of sanctity, Catholic and Nationalist, it was discovered that he had been in the pay of the Government as a secret agent for £300 a year. Himself a United Irishman, he entertained the leaders of the conspiracy right royally at his hospitable board, and reported their conversations to Dublin Castle. The black-hearted scoundrel, retained for most of the prisoners charged with high treason in 1778, sold the secrets of his briefs to the Crown.* The Viceroy's Post-bag contains numbers of his reports to Marsden, all endorsed "secret intelligence," and all signed with the initials "J. W." Here is one:

"CARLOW, KILDARE, QUEEN'S COUNTY, KING'S COUNTY,
"WEST AND EAST MEATH,
"*20th August*, 1801.

"Every observation applicable to the political situation of any of the one above counties, with very little variance, is applicable to them all. Meath and Kildare continue to retain the strongest symptoms of disaffection, which I impute to their vicinity to the Metropolis. Among the lower orders, and I have had innumerable conversations with those in whom I could confide, I find but one opinion, which is that the miltary are too strong for the peasantry, unless the French made a landing in great force. In that case I have no doubt but a great majority would join them in their march; but it appears to me a settled determination that the people would not

* MacNally was the author of the well-known song, "The Lass of Richmond Hill," which was set to music by James Hook, father of Theodore Hook, and sung by Incledon at Vauxhall Gardens in 1790, and attained immense popularity.

rise but where the French appeared. I am also convinced that there are still great quantities of concealed arms, but from the length of time they have lain by, most probably in damp places, the firearms can be of little use.

"Among the middling orders (rich farmers, etc., men who can afford to meet and drink together) the spirit of disaffection still subsists, and often breaks out, but not a word falls that looks like an intent to act.

"The Yeomanry, who boast much of their services during the Rebellion, are more prompt than any others in abuse of Government, and in abuse of the Union. They openly declare they would not again give assistance, and I believe most of them speak sincerely. The promise of approaching plenty will, I venture to say, go very far in softening the minds of the peasantry. Their wages are now very high, and they begin to feel the benefit of peace and industry.

"I put as a query, Is it prudent to leave in the hands of even the Yeomanry who are inactive the arms delivered to them by Government? If an invasion should render a requisition of men necessary, ought not all those who refuse coming forward be called on to deliver up their arms? Would not an inspection of the arms of the Yeomanry all over the country be a prudent measure? It might be executed without inconvenience when the harvest is in.

"There has been a rumour respecting the county of Wexford. I saw a friend from Enniscorthy this day who assures me all is quiet over there.

"J. W."

* * *

No one had better means of ascertaining the real feelings of the people than MacNally; and from his reports it is clear that there was still some discontent and bitterness, and the spirit of treason beneath the surface which would flame out at the landing of a French army. But all the principal conspirators of 1798, who had escaped hanging, were safe in the fortress of Fort George, on the Moray Firth, Scotland, as State prisoners. These included Thomas Addis Emmet, Arthur O'Connor (a wealthy aristocrat, the nephew of Lord Longueville), Thomas Russell (an ex-captain of the British Army),

W. J. Macnevin (a Dublin medical doctor), Samuel Neilson (a Belfast merchant), and Thomas Dowdall (an ex-clerk of the Irish House of Commons).

Still, even in a fortress in Scotland these Irish conspirators found means to advance their revolutionary schemes. Among a few other political prisoners of less notoriety at Fort George was Robert Hunter, of Belfast. In November, 1801, he wrote to a Belfast magistrate named Skinner, informing him that on October 3 he had sent a letter to Lord Pelham, the Home Secretary, disclosing a plot of the principal prisoners, headed by Emmet and Neilson, for the dissemination of republican principles in Scotland, and especially for sapping the loyalty of the Scottish regiments of Militia, in view of a French invasion of Great Britain. Hunter asked Skinner to recommend him to the Home Secretary as a person likely to give trusty information. "You are the only person who knows my intentions," he says. "I therefore to you confide my honour, relying on you acting towards me as a friend and a gentleman; and trust for the sake of myself and dear family you will use your endeavours to get me clear of prison, for really my heart is almost broke with trouble; and stipulate on no account for me to prosecute, but to tell all I know, and to Government to make what they please of it." Skinner forwarded Hunter's letter to Pelham, with one from himself, in which he relates what he knows of the prisoner. He states that during the Rebellion of 1798 he was appointed by the Crown to examine some prisoners arrested in Belfast, among whom was Hunter. "Though it was not possible to prove his guilt," Skinner adds, "it appeared very evident that he had been engaged in all the plans of the United Irishmen, and had been employed by them to carry communications from one society to another, which he had done for a length of time with the greatest address." Hunter, though he took an oath never again to interfere in politics, was banished to Fort George. Therefore Skinner was of opinion that the information offered by Hunter might be of service to the State.

The prisoners were not rigorously confined to Fort George. They were permitted to take walks and drives in the neighbouring country; and at least Emmet had his wife and children living with him in the fort. How information of Hunter's disclosures to the Home Secretary reached them through Mrs. Emmet, and the result, is told in the following letter of Hunter to Pelham:

"FORT GEORGE,
"*5th November*, 1801.

"MY LORD,

"My letter to you of the 3rd October turned out just as I dreaded. The Governor thought proper to open it, and by some means its contents was made known to the officers in the garrison, and one of their wives—an Irish patriot, Mrs. Cameron—was four times here looking for Mrs. Emmet on the 5th; and on Tuesday communicated to her the outlines of my letter. In consequence the alarm was given, and all writings, papers, etc., were destroyed, and messages sent off on the occasion.

"By the Governor's orders the two messes joined that day; wine was ordered and drunk to excess. I did not like their talk and noise, but withdrew early. I was followed to my room, and asked about my letter to your Lordship. I said your Lordship had heard I was guilty of tampering with the Militia; that Lieutenant Coldstream, a friend here, had informed me so, and advised me to clear myself of the imputation, and which I had done by my letter of the 3rd ulto. to you. I kept my head, and really did not know the moment my life would be attempted, because they knew well it was not this new occurrence in Scotland, but the whole of their doings, I could reveal. Not that I fear any man in point of courage, or my character; but it was always their system, terror and dark assassination. I have entirely withdrawn from them, but at mess; and, I declare to you, my heart is almost broke by their treatment and doings; for my suffering since December, 1798, has been great, all since I was sworn not to intermeddle with politics or the King's Government.

"I will just now, my Lord, tell you in plain honest language, you are to fear and dread the principles of about ten men here. The rest are broken down by confinement and ill-fortunes. At the head of a faction is Emmet

and Neilson, men of abilities and talent. They are at present crazy in consequence of Peace coming on, and you are a God to Bonaparte and the French Government; but the consolation is it's only an armed truce and will last no time. At all events, it may put back their liberty for Ireland for some time, but in the end they know and are certain their Union will triumph.

"I think it was unfortunate I had no private way to communicate what I knew to you, and when I did to be exposed by the foregoing reason. Indeed, I should not now write on this topic but I have a prospect of a lady taking this free of the governor to Ireland. And speaking of that country, it is a misfortune I cannot acquaint you with their plans and schemes, acted upon by their confederates, in hopes of invasion. My time nor my opportunity here will not admit of it; but if you will have the goodness and humanity to comply now with my request, I will make everything known to you again in my power, but not to be exposed; to enlarge me on bail, either to reside in Belfast or Liverpool. Security would be given in the former place, and if you wish my own here. According to your own desire, I could then obey your call, and it would remove suspicion, for it is totally impossible to move here without my fellow-prisoners' knowledge. I beg you will excuse this liberty."

All these communications were forwarded by the Home Office to Dublin Castle with a covering letter from Sir George Shee, Pelham's private secretary, dated December 5, 1801, in which he says: "As Hunter is ordered to Ireland his Excellency will have it in his power to take such steps respecting the intelligence he has given, and offers to give, as the case seems to require." But there appeared to be little further need for the service of informers in Ireland. The war between Great Britain and France was at an end. All the political prisoners at Fort George were released in November, 1801. The principals were banished from the kingdom. The others were permitted to return to Ireland on giving bail for their good behaviour.

* * *

The year 1802 went by without even a ripple of disloyalty on the surface of things in Ireland. The only document in the Viceroy's Post-bag for that year to indicate there was a spirit of mischief abroad was a letter from Lord Massereene, an Ulster peer, complaining that he had received threatening notices. But Massereene was a persistent grumbler. He had voted for the Union, and not only had he been ignored in the distribution of honours and places, but he seems to have failed even to obtain compensation for the loss of a pocket borough. He writes to Hardwicke:

"ANTRIM CASTLE,
"*November* 11, 1802.

"MY LORD,

"A circumstance of a curious nature procures me the honor of addressing your Excellency. I must entreat your indulgence, my Lord, if I am troublesome. That possibly may be the case; but I trust the very great peculiarity of the predicament in which I stand will plead my excuse.

"Government (I mean not your Lordship's, G—d forbid I should be misunderstood. I allude to that which preceded your arrival in this country); Government, I say, my Lord, has so refus'd me, abandon'd me, stripp'd me of all it could, chosen me as an object of its dereliction; in a word, such has been the line of conduct which it has been pleas'd to adopt in regard to me, that now the miscreants of this part of the country (and little else than miscreants are there here) are persuaded that anything may be undertaken against a man mark'd for such dereliction by a Government. Enclos'd are two papers, literal and exact copies of two papers, one of which was sent to me by the post, the 3rd of last month, and the other, the 1st of this present month. No less than five papers have been, some sent, some stuck on a pillar or wall, within one month; one a scurrilous song, and all demonstrating an inveterate malevolence.

"I leave the whole to your Excellency's consideration, and beg leave to submit one observation, viz.—is it exactly right that a man whose loyalty has ever been as conspicuous as the sun in the firmament, who has fought the King's and the Nation's quarrels, who has spared

neither his time nor his fortune, who has risk'd his life, who has been indefatigable in supporting and keeping up the interest of the King and his Government, and incurr'd the detestation of the whole country for these reasons, should be mark'd for dereliction, depriv'd of his dignity, robb'd of a part of his property, and as utterly laid aside as any man ever was, by that Government which he has defended and supported? Tho' I might, yet will I say no more. You, my Lord, are endow'd with that candour and genius which have ever been hereditary in all the Yorkes.

"To conclude, let me observe that a great historian remarks that the moment after the Emperor, Charles 5th, sign'd his abdication, the very numerous company of grandees then present with the new Emperor adjourn'd to another department, leaving Charles alone by his fireside. The fire being almost extinguished Charles rung the bell for some more fuel; and three times did he ring before any footman had the attention either to come to him, or even to think about him, who some minutes before could have made the empire tremble by a frown. If so with a *ci-devant* monarch, judge, my Lord, of the situation of a peer *ci-devant*, possessing a seat in Parliament descended to him from a long train of ancestry, now robb'd of everything, in recompense for his loyalty and attachment to his King, by him manifested in both his military and civil capacities, stripp'd of his borough, robb'd of his compensation money, etc., etc., etc.

"I repose my case and my interest in the hands of G—d first, and next in the hands of the Earl of Hardwicke, and have the honour to be, my Lord, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

"MASSEREENE."

One of the threatening notices enclosed by Lord Massereene was an invitation to dinner in the following form:

"Myly and Mylys calf present ther compts to the Earle of Masreen expects the plasur of his company for Diner the 2nd of November on Donagor Hill as the know he is so fond of fish will have a nise dish of well drest pikes.

"MYLY.

"DONAGOR, *29th October*."

The Viceroy sent Massereene a few soothing lines. These stupid anonymous notices were beneath his contempt; and to take notice of them would simply be playing the game of the writers.

* * *

Early in 1803 it became apparent that the renewal of hostilities between Great Britain and France was inevitable, and the Viceroy was consulted by the Ministers as to the state of feeling in Ireland. Writing from Dublin Castle, March 11, 1803, to William Wickham, Chief Secretary, then in London, Hardwicke says:

"There is no reason to believe that any regular system of disaffection exists, though it is probable that many would join and assist an invading force. In the North, however, I understand there are no persons of any property who can be considered as disaffected. Though inclined to be Republican and formerly well wishers to the French cause there is no reason to believe that they would now wish for a change through French assistance. This idea of the North has been confirmed to me by several gentlemen, and amongst others by Mr. Stewart of Killimoon. At the same time we must act upon the principle of defending this country as well as we can independently of the disposition of the inhabitants."

The same confidence in the peaceable or quiescent disposition of the people is displayed in a letter from the Lord Lieutenant to the Home Secretary, dated March 26, 1803:

"From the best accounts which I can obtain of the state of the country it does not appear that any of the lower order of farmers—many of whom were concerned in the Rebellion—are suspected of any treasonable or seditious inclination. In some instances I have understood that the common people are not very well affected towards their immediate superiors on account of the high price which they are supposed to have demanded for their provisions, during the periods of scarcity. Upon the whole, I do not find that the present situation of publick affairs has given rise to any circumstances which are deserving of particular notice, or that would justify apprehensions in respect to any part of the country."

Ulster was the only part of Ireland about which the Executive entertained any doubts, for it was there that the republican principles of the United Irishmen had found the most numerous and most ardent body of supporters. But all the reports received by the Viceroy from that province agreed that there had been a complete change in the political opinions of the Protestants and Presbyterians since the Rebellion of 1798. One of the most interesting of the reports comes from a magistrate named William Richardson, of Moy. It is dated May 2, 1803, and from it I give a few extracts :

" We are far more tranquil than I ever remember us. Harassed by political discussions for thirty years past, we have now forgot the existence of such things. Parliamentary reform was our first furious question. That was followed by revolutionizing schemes, upon which the reformists split—one part saw the precipice and quietly retired among the loyalists ; the other part pressed forward to Rebellion, which failing, political innovation was nominally, and, I believe, really given up by both.

" The Union followed, and it was most amusing to the indifferent bystanders to see the unwearied exertions of the anti-Unionist leaders fail in procuring even attention. Meetings were called, at which almost nobody appeared, and resolutions (sufficiently inflammatory) of which no one had heard were published. The Union leaders were more cunning, and contented themselves with procuring signatures, of which, probably, they made a great merit, but their advantage was simply this, that it was easier to sign than to attend meetings. This silly appeal to the people did not make the Union so much as a topick ; and if it is supposed to be carried either *with* or *against* the liking of the people it is a compleat mistake. I have dwelt upon this to show how little inflammable material we have among us."

Richardson goes on to say that the religious feud between Protestant and Catholic which had distracted Ulster was at an end, and that the issue was now between Loyalist and United Irish. He then makes a curious statement about the part played by Freemasonry in the political

conflict, which will be new to students of this period of Irish history. He adds:

"Catholicks and Protestants over the North are in profound peace with each other; but the tail of the United Irish has rallied in Freemason Lodges. With these, Orange Lodges, when they meet at fairs, do and will come to blows, and the question between them—your Lordship may rely upon it—is political and not religious. I have pressed your Lordship before on the subject of these Freemason Lodges, every day growing more numerous, and more suspicious by their guard against anything Orange. That Freemasonry contributed to the French Revolution has been denied, but that its ready-formed organization served it, most decidedly is certain. Orders were through this medium instantly conveyed through every part of France. That the same use is at this moment making of our Freemasonry I have satisfied Sir Charles Ross.

"In general, a more tranquil state than the North is in at present can hardly be conceived. The most unpopular process of law can be executed in any part of it by a single constable, nor do I see any material from which disturbance among ourselves is likely to arise."

* * *

On May 14, 1803, Pelham, the Home Secretary, wrote to the Lord Lieutenant conveying the momentous intelligence that on that afternoon a messenger had arrived in London from Paris bringing the news that on the 12th inst. Lord Whitworth, the British Ambassador, was on the point of leaving the city. General Fox, brother of Charles James Fox, was immediately despatched to Ireland as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in that country, on the outbreak of hostilities. On May 28, 1803, Hardwicke sent the following "Private and Confidential" letter to Wickham, Chief Secretary, in London:

'My dear Sir,

"I received this morning your letter of the 25th, and regret with you, for myself as well as for the publick, that no account has been preserved of Mr. Pitt's speech in the debate of Monday. I consider it a very serious loss at this time, because if the French sentiments con-

tained in Mr. Fox's defence of Bonaparte's conduct should, unfortunately, prevail in the nation at large, we should have little chance of success in the War, and had better at once resign ourselves to our fate. I flatter myself, however, that some attempt will be made to collect the substance of so valuable a speech, and that Mr. Pitt himself will assist in preserving it as an antidote to the wickedness of his old antagonist.

"General Fox arrived here yesterday se'nnight. By connecting his name with that of his brother I by no means wish you to infer that there is the smallest resemblance in their politicks, for from what I have seen of General Fox—as far as I can judge from so short an acquaintance—I think we shall go on extremely well if he remains in this country. He does not appear to be reserved, and seems desirous of being civil to those with whom he is likely to be connected in business."

* * *

Meanwhile, magistrates in various parts of Ireland were invited by the Executive to furnish reports of the state of their various districts. They were all of the same tenor—the people were peaceably absorbed in their own affairs. Here is a letter from the Marquis of Sligo, in reference to the condition of Mayo, addressed to Marsden, the Under Secretary:

"WESTPORT HOUSE,
"*June* 30, 1803.

"Considering the situation of affairs at present we cannot be too vigilant as to all that passes around us. I have two cards to play here—one which relates to the publick safety, and the other the preservation of my own political weight in the county, without which my powers of being useful in other points would be much lessened. I mention this, because tho' from the experience I have of your discretion I will explain to you without reserve every atom I can ascertain, I do it in the confidence of not being quoted unnecessarily, nor of being brought forward where my communications might give umbrage to the most important of my friends. I don't know that such difficulties may occur; I trust they will not; but the caution may not be useless even with respect to others.

"I believe I see and I know as much of the lower people,

and especially of the suspected, as any other man of my class of life in Ireland, and I can confidently say, and assert that to this day my conviction is that not one of them wish for an invasion; but on the contrary I believe that if they were told it was to be, I am persuaded they would in their minds be sorry for it; and the greatest alarmists here are of the same mind with me to the fullest extent of this assertion. That the disaffected of the middle class have changed their opinions I am also clear. And from those facts I do positively say that in the event of the Militia being drawn away, the Yeomen will preserve the publick peace; and if well chosen as to the Corps, kept up and exercised two days in the week, I will venture to pronounce them as much force as those parts want, even in the event of the Enemy being landed in the Kingdom. I have much to lose here, not only in property but in personal comforts, and many of them more valued from being of my own creation. If, therefore, I mislead it will not be intentional."

From Lord Ashtown, a Galway peer, came the following reassuring report of the state of his county to the Viceroy:

"WOODLAWN,
"*July 4th*, 1803.

"MY LORD,

"Agreeably to your Excellency's commands I sit down to give some account of the state of this part of the country, as far as I have been able to observe, or learn from those with whom I have conversed. I have the satisfaction to state that this part of the co. Galway is perfectly quiet, and I have reason to suppose that the disturbances in Connemara, as reported to your Excellency, have been much exaggerated. I find the lower classes of people as peaceably disposed and as attentive to their business as usual—finishing their potatoes, in which they have been unusually retarded by the backwardness of the season, and cutting their turf.

"They also get drunk and break heads now and then, as usual, at fairs and hurling matches. Your Excellency may, perhaps, remark that this is an extraordinary proof of a peaceable disposition, and such as none but an Irishman would give. It is, however, unquestionably true, that for some months previous to the late Rebellions when they were mediately to disturb the publick peace,

drunkenness was almost unknown, and private quarrel, extremely rare. On the whole I am induced to believe that there is no organization at present on foot; and that we shall not have any rising in this part of the country, unless the French should land in considerable force, and that even in that case they will be cautious how they join them.

"While I am on this subject I shall beg leave to suggest an idea, that I am sure has not escaped your Excellency's attention, or that of Government on the other side, of the importance of which I am strongly persuaded. It is to make some Parliamentary provision for the Roman Catholick clergy which would give them an interest in the present order of things, and make them exert their influence, which is still very great, in support of it. It might now be done with a good grace, and I have reason to think it would be thankfully received, but in time of actual insurrection would be imputed to fear. I ask pardon for obtruding my sentiments on this subject, but the strong conviction I feel of the utility of the measure must plead my excuse."

* * *

Nevertheless, at this very time, June, 1803, preparations for an insurrection were in full swing in Dublin without the knowledge of the Executive.

CHAPTER II

THE INSURRECTION

At the head of the new conspiracy was the young enthusiast, Robert Emmet. The failure of the rebellion of the United Irishmen in 1798, the execution or banishment of all its leaders, the cowed and prostrate condition of the country after the rigorously repressive measures of the Irish Government, did not deter this extraordinary youth from planning, two years after the Union of Ireland and Great Britain in 1801, another attempt to establish an Irish Republic. The Irish Executive knew nothing definite of the preparations for this fresh insurrection until it burst about their astonished ears on July 23, 1803. Then there was no lack of information. Then the whole scheme was unfolded to them by some of the terror-stricken conspirators on whom the law succeeded in laying its heavy hand. In the Hardwicke correspondence there is a most interesting official paper on the Emmet insurrection, prepared by William Wickham, Chief Secretary, in December, 1803. "Account of the Insurrection in Dublin on the 23rd July, 1803, and the circumstances by which it was preceded"—so runs its title—"prepared from the evidence in the late State Trials, from the secret examination of several accomplices, and from various secret documents, particularly from intercepted letters and other papers found in the possession of several of the conspirators." With the help of this document, the "private and confidential" correspondence between the Viceroy and the Cabinet in

London, and the secret papers of the Home Office, we are enabled to follow the development of the plot. It is an exciting tale of adventure and romance, a tale of the deepest human interest.

* * *

Here, to begin, is an extract from William Wickham's secret history of the conspiracy :

"Early in the year 1801 Mr. Robert Emmet went over to the Continent with a mission to the French Government from the Executive Directory of the United Irishmen here. He was accompanied by a Mr. Malachi Delany of the County of Kildare, now in custody on suspicion of being concerned in the last insurrection. Delany had been formerly an officer in the Austrian service, and was deeply engaged in the Rebellion of 1798. They travelled through England and embarked at Yarmouth for Hamburgh, Emmet (against whom there was no charge) under his own name, and Delany under the name of Bowers.

"They resided some time at Hamburgh, until at last they obtained passports from General Angereau, commanding the French Army on the lower Rhine, and proceeded to Paris. At Paris they had communications with the French Government, in the course of the year 1801. What was the particular object of these communications is not known, but whatever it was they were put an end to by the Peace which was soon after concluded, when Emmet left Paris and came to Brussels to meet his brother, Thomas Addis Emmet, who had been discharged from Fort George.

"He returned to this country in November, 1802, where he remained unmolested, as he had done before, there being no charge against him, this circumstance of his having been sent on this treasonable mission having only been discovered since the Insurrection of the 23rd of July."

Young Emmet was debarred from joining any of the professions by his expulsion from Trinity College in 1798 for his connection with the revolutionary movement. He therefore turned to trade.

"When Emmet came over in November," continues the narrative of the Chief Secretary, "he applied himself, together with Patten, a nephew of Mr. Colville, the Governor of the Bank, to the tanning business, which they were to learn from a notoriously disaffected, but a very ingenious man of the name of Noms, whom they took into a sort of partnership, Patten furnishing the money."

If the venture failed, they were determined, all three, on emigrating to America. But Emmet was turned by the death of his father, and the outbreak of war between Great Britain and France, irrevocably from the prosaic if peaceful ways of industry to the romantic if hazardous career of a revolutionist. Under the will of his father he received in April, 1803, a sum of £3,000, and with this money at his back the boy revolutionary proposed to wrest Ireland from the grasp of the strongest and most wealthy Power in the world. But he had no misgiving as to the success of his scheme. Was it not, for one thing, absolutely new and original? He was not so foolish as to follow the example of the United Irishmen by attempting to establish a well-organized revolutionary society, with clubs in every part of the country, and counting its numbers by the hundred thousand. That scheme had proved abortive because of the scope it allowed to traitors, who reported every move in the game to the Government. His plan was, first, to spend his fortune on the manufacture and collection of munitions of war in the metropolis, taking but a dozen tried and trusty friends into his confidence; then, when all his preparations were completed, to summon a thousand desperate men to his aid from the disaffected in and around Dublin, arm them from his stores, and, surprising the unsuspecting and consequently unprepared Irish Executive, plant the flag of revolution on the battlements of Dublin Castle. This much accomplished—and to the romantic youth it was but a little thing—Ireland, at the sound of his trumpet, would shake off her fetters, and arise a free and independent Republic.

* * *

Emmet accordingly confided his scheme only to a few subordinate leaders of the Rebellion of 1798 in Dublin, and in Kildare and Wicklow, two counties adjoining the metropolis. These were to have the men ready to respond to his call when he passed the word that the day had come to rise. His two chief confederates of his own class were Thomas Russell, the fellow-prisoner of his brother, Thomas Addis Emmet, in Fort George, and William Hamilton, an Irish officer in the French Army, who was married to Russell's sister. Another powerful ally was Michael Dwyer, an insurgent leader, "on his keeping" in the Wicklow hills for his connection with the Rebellion of 1798. But in the immediate work of manufacturing arms and gunpowder his trusted confederates were not more than eight workmen in the humblest walks in life. The two principals were Michael Quigley, a bricklayer, and Nicholas Stafford, a baker. Quigley had been concerned in the Rebellion of 1798, and after a term of imprisonment was released on condition that he left the country under the Banishment Act. He went to Paris, where he worked at his trade for a time, and became acquainted with Russell and Hamilton. On their invitation he joined the conspiracy, and returning to Dublin about April, 1803, was appointed by Emmet his first lieutenant. One day he accidentally met Stafford, the baker—an old acquaintance—and induced him to give his services to the cause. Two depots were taken in the most crowded centre of Dublin —one in Patrick Street and the other in Marshalsea Lane, off Thomas Street. It is stated in Wickham's narrative that such was the secrecy with which Emmet conducted these initial operations of his plot that not even his chief fellow-conspirators knew exactly the situation of the depots. Emmet himself so completely disappeared from his social circle at the beginning of April—on receiving the money left him in his father's will—that the secret agents of the Executive were unable to discover what had become of him, or to determine whether he was in Dublin, or in the provinces organizing, or had

left Ireland altogether. He took a lonely country house in Butterfield Lane, Rathfarnham, just outside the city. Here he lived in absolute seclusion as "Robert Ellis," with a faithful girl servant, named Anne Devlin, niece of Michael Dwyer, and here he was visited at night by his principal agents. He does not seem even to have ever inspected his depots in Patrick Street and Marshalsea Lane. Of the eight workmen employed in the manufacture of the warlike stores, only Quigley and Stafford were aware that he was at the head of the movement, and knew where he was to be found. To them he gave the necessary money for the purchase of materials, and for the payment of five shillings a day to the mechanics employed in the depots. From them he received regular reports as to the progress of the work.

* * *

The Government, as I have said, had no information, definite and trustworthy, of the mine which was thus being secretly laid for explosion under their very feet. In the intimate and confidential letters of Lord Hardwicke to his brother, Charles Yorke, the Minister for War—just about to be promoted to the Home Office in succession to Lord Pelham—the Viceroy roams over a variety of subjects, public and private, speaking his mind freely about all to "my dear Charles"; but I cannot find the least apprehension expressed, now that war had broken out again between Great Britain and France, that trouble was brewing among the disaffected in Ireland.

It is true the spies of the authorities reported that another insurrection was being organized, but their information was most indefinite. The Viceroy's Postbag contains several secret communications from one of these agents signed "Belfast," and addressed to Marsden, the Under-Secretary. This was a barrister-at-law named Samuel Turner, an ardent and active patriot, who had betrayed the Ulster Executive of the United Irishmen to the Government in 1798, had fled to

France with other rebel fugitives, and returned to Ireland after the Peace to continue his role as spy, still unsuspected as a traitor by his fellow-revolutionaries. Here is one of his reports to Marsden :

" *31st May*, 1803.

" SIR,

" From every circumstance which has occurred since my return here, I am satisfied that Russell or some others of the Fort George exiles have returned, and are at present in Dublin. Late on Saturday night, William Metcalf, with whom all along I have been so intimate, and the person of the greatest confidence with the people, called on me to acquaint me that a person was specially sent from the Executive in Dublin for him to attend them there without delay; but some apprehensions being entertained as to the truth of the message and the messenger, he (Metcalf) thought it advisable to consult with me, and now from every enquiry he is satisfied and determined to attend.

" This man was formerly of Ballymena, his name is either Ross or Cross, and has been for some time in Dublin ; is of the lower order, and has but little to say, is pretty well-clothed and has money with him to defray expenses ; offered Metcalf some, but I ordered him to refuse it. I have promised to assist Metcalf, and he intends setting off on Friday on foot for Dublin. He meets me there, and of course I will get all the information of what is doing.

" He tells Metcalf that he will introduce him to the entire Executive, and that he will see many whom he knew, and some who have been abroad. Speaks of an immediate business, and fears something may take place before he returns. He is now gone to Ballymena, and returns here on Thursday. Says we are to have 10,000 French immediately. Has with him a person who was sent to Scotland on the same business, and who is returned. Metcalf is to carry with him the Scotch reports (they are to be delivered verbally). I will, I expect, know them.

" Metcalf has just parted from me, and is to see me before he goes, and will then appoint to meet him in Dublin, on about the 12th. I can't leave this sooner. He goes to James Hooper who lives in the Liberty, an old friend of

mine. I don't know where there he lives. I should think he ought not to be arrested until I see him in Dublin, for through him I will be able to ascertain everything."

On this report there is a note by Hardwicke as follows:

"This person can't give any satisfactory information; but tells Marsden he'll know everything when he arrives in Dublin."

"Belfast," again writing from Belfast, sent Marsden the following report, dated June 4, 1803:

"SIR,

"Metcalf was with me at a late hour last night, and from him I understand the person with whom he was to travel to town had returned here. He had not then seen him, and consequently I could not know all I expected. They were to leave this place early this morning, and from Metcalf's not calling to-day I conclude they are gone. Metcalf will remain in Dublin until I go up. This we have settled; and unless some of my old friends Emmet, Lawson, Wright, and Teeling, whom O'Hanlon after he escaped from the Tower endeavoured, and in a degree led to believe that I was the means of their arrests, will prevent me seeing him there, I will be able to ascertain everything from him. Yet, I think he will not credit anything that might be said without acquainting me.

"The messenger's name is Scott, and not Ross, as I stated; and the person who was in Scotland is one Witherspoole, from the neighbourhood of Castlereagh near this town (Co. Down). I don't find he has brought with him any particular reports from Scotland. He says they are doing well there, and would assist us if a Rising would take place; but I can't find whether he was particularly sent there or not, and am inclined to think he was not. Yesterday I saw William Minis from Saintfield; he came here for news; he says that part of the country is quiet, but anxiously waiting for invasion. They have had no meetings lately. The spirit yet continues to a great extent.

"A great number of the inhabitants here are joining the different Yeomanry corps. I am at present on a delicate footing with regard to this. If I don't join a corps I'll be despised and discountenanced in my pro-

fession* by the gentlemen of the country; and, on the other hand, if I do, I can't serve you. I hope altogether I am to be considered and that a handsome recompense will be allowed me, either pecuniary, or by an employment. What I get is not near adequate to my expenditure.

"I intend leaving this for town by the latter end of the ensuing week. Charles Teeling is here. I was speaking with him; nothing from him political; our interview was but short, and merely by accident.

"I gave Metcalf some money to assist him up, as he refused to accept any from Scott lest he should be a spy. Metcalf must not by any means be arrested."

On July 2, 1803, "Belfast" is in Dublin, and writes to Marsden:

"Metcalf, I presume, is gone home. He hasn't called since. He called one evening before I saw you, but I happened to be abroad. He told me when I saw him he would immediately leave town if he was not introduced to the Executive; and it was agreed that if he was to be introduced he was to call on me. I, therefore, conclude that he is gone. I leave this for the North tomorrow evening. Any commands sent in the former way. You shall hear from me on my arrival there. I received the cash from McP."

"Belfast," on July 8, 1803, thus writes from Belfast to Marsden:

"SIR,

"Metcalf is again returned here, and I find Hooper is also down expecting a command. Metcalf returned here on Thursday last. I haven't since seen him. I understand that he is ordered by the Executive not to communicate much with me. He is now in the County Down gone towards Loughin island, endeavouring to persuade the people to a general rising. He gives out that Dublin is immediately to be attacked, and has no doubt but it will be taken. Every means is used to rouse the people. Sometimes he tells them if they don't turn out they will all be put into requisition by the Government, and at other times represents to those the less

* There is a note to this in Hardwicke's handwriting—"An Attorney."

ardent that he comes also through me. He was yesterday about Saintfield, and is expected in town to-morrow.

"The idea of a general insurrection has spread much through both counties. Some will turn out, but I find from Mr. Minis, to-day, from the neighbourhood of Saintfield, that the greater number as well as himself look upon it as a desperate enterprise. He tells me the County Down will certainly look to me. I have empowered him if the leaders chose me, to say that I will take the command at some time, telling him (as he thinks himself that we must be defeated) to prevent the people as much as possible from doing anything rashly. He is to come expressly to me if any determination is likely to take place. From the minds at present of the people they will wait the result of the attack on Dublin.

"I have written for Bones to Ballymena, and expect to see him about the latter end of the week. With him I will be able to concert some measure to prevent Metcalf and his companion having much influence. Metcalf gives out that leaders (experienced officers) will attend, and even turn out with three men, but can't tell what plan is meant to be pursued. Goes entirely on the old system of 1799, formed by young Emmet, etc.*

"I wrote you some days ago the conversation I had before I left Dublin. I repeat again, the only and principal allegation here in not turning out is the want of arms. If you mean to arrest Metcalf instruct Mr. Skinner the magistrate as no doubt he can have full information to convict him. I should wish to know how I am to act upon this occasion. At present I have the strongest party. I have no doubt but Metcalf will call upon me when he returns. He understood that Captain Russell is still in the country, and is to command here."

The only other secret agent from whom the Government received a report was Leonard MacNally, or "J. W." He was as vague as "Belfast," and as ignorant of what was really going on. Under date July 19, 1803, he reports to Marsden:

"I find from the most minute inquiry which I constantly keep alive, that all the respectable Catholics and

* There is a note to this in the handwriting of Hardwicke, which runs: "This was by communicating to very few, and not by visiting."

those of the middling rank are decisively against insurrection, even in the case of invasion. Clone assured me this morning, which is the occasion of my writing, that an emissary from France has been in Dublin, and still remains here, and has had conferences with several persons who have come to Dublin specially for that purpose, from almost every county. He cannot specify names, but he assures me the fact was communicated to him from a person who had the information from young Emmet.

"I daily see different people from the Home Circuit counties, who were implicated in the last Rebellion, and the report of them all is that there is neither system nor organization in the country. They, however, allow that an invasion is expected, in which case they admit a rising would take place whenever the enemy appeared.

"I can assure you that the disaffected in Dublin look forward to a serious rising in London, in case England should be attacked. They speak of no less than fifty thousand disaffected in that Metropolis."

* * *

To these unsubstantial reports the Irish Executive, naturally, attached little credence. They had no informer inside the inner ring of the conspiracy. Even the personal appearance of Emmet was unknown to their police. The town Major was Sirr, a capable and daring officer, who had had the experience of countermining and breaking up the conspiracy of the United Irishmen five years before in Dublin. Yet this keen-eyed and alert watch-dog of the law had never to his knowledge seen Emmet. Impressed by the statements of "Belfast" and "J. W." that "Young Emmet" was the head and front of whatever movement there might be among the disaffected, he obtained a description of the youth's appearance from Dr. Elrington of Trinity College, who in 1798 was his tutor in mathematics. It is not very flattering to the young revolutionary:

"*June 7th*, 1803.

"DEAR SIR,

"Miss Bell having mentioned to me that you wished for a description of Robert Emmet I send the best I can get of what he was five years ago. I know no

person who can give you an account of the alteration that may have taken place in his figure since.

"Believe me, dear Sir, yours very truly,

"THOMAS ELRINGTON.

"In 1798 was near twenty years of age, of an ugly sour countenance; small eyes, but not near-sighted; a dirty-brownish complexion; at a distance looks as if somewhat marked with small-pox; about five feet six inches high, rather thin than fat, but not of an emaciated figure; on the contrary, somewhat broad-made; walks briskly, but does not swing his arms."

* * *

On the morning of Saturday, July 16, 1803, a most untoward accident happened to the conspirators. An explosion occurred in the Patrick Street depot. One of the workmen was killed. But, worse calamity, the suspicions of the authorities were aroused, the place was examined, and its stores of pikes, blunderbusses, rockets, and gunpowder seized. The Lord Lieutenant sent the following report of the affair to Addington, the Prime Minister:

"*Private.*

"PHŒNIX PARK,

"*July* 20, 1803.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"The accounts which have recently come to my knowledge in regard to the intentions of the disaffected, and particularly in regard to their proceedings in Dublin, are by no means so satisfactory as they were some time ago. It still appears that there are no leaders of any consequence; but it is equally true, and it is a fact which ought not to be concealed from the Government in England, that agitators are certainly at work, and that there is reason to believe, whenever an opportunity offers of striking a blow, that the Metropolis will be the principal object of insurrection. All our intelligence of late has gone to that point, and I must add that the accounts received from the country, and particularly from the North, within a day or two, are less favourable than they were, the hope and expectation of a rising gaining ground in those parts, according to information given by persons who from their connexions with the disaffected must be

supposed to know their secrets. A rising is also talked of wherever and whenever the Enemy may happen to land.

"A circumstance occurred a few days since which, as connected with any scheme of insurrection in the Metropolis, is not uninteresting. On Saturday evening an explosion took place at an house in Patrick-street, by which two men were badly wounded. One of them is since dead. They appear to have been employed in manufacturing gunpowder, and had made use of a machine, which was lately purchased to bruise oats, for the purpose of preparing and grinding the ingredients. The men were of the lowest order; but the survivor has not made any discovery of his accomplices, some of whom are known and, of course, watched.

"Connected with this accident, another circumstance occurred on Sunday, the 17th inst. About 4 o'clock in the morning of that day two men were observed by the watchmen carrying a large cask from Patrick-street. The two watchmen enquired to what place they were carrying the cask, to which they replied, 'If you wish to know you will see presently.' They then turned the corner of Kevin-street, and set down the cask at the door of an house inhabited by one Palmer, a grocer. The two men, after having set down the cask on the pavement, went away, and Palmer, who came down apparently to receive the cask, on perceiving the watchmen, shut the door of his house and walked away to another street. The watchmen then took up the cask and were conveying it to the Watch-house, when they were met by four or five men who took the cask from them, and afterwards were joined by others who fired at the watchmen and pursued them, ridiculing the idea of their supposing they could retain possession of it. As this happened in the neighbourhood of the Coombe, where there is a barrack, the watchmen applied for assistance, but the guard declined interfering without the order of the magistrate. The two men therefore escaped, and the only information obtained of the contents of the cask is from the accident of a part of it having burst by the shock of being set down on the pavement, when several ball cartridges are stated to have dropped out, and some rings used for the fixing of pikes to the handles.

"Palmer was taken up and examined yesterday. His

house had been searched on Sunday morning, but nothing was discovered which could give rise to any suspicion; and as he knew it was impossible to prove anything against him, or even to detain him, he gave no information whatever, nor any explanation of his being up and dressed at so early an hour of the morning. Palmer is the father of a notorious rebel, and was a short time previous to the Rebellion actively employed himself in posting up seditious handbills in different parts of Dublin, and still remains there; and it is said that he has had conferences with several persons from the country, of which, however, there is no certainty.

"Our information states that the disaffected in Dublin look forward to a serious rising in London, in case England should be attacked, and that there are no less than 50,000 disaffected persons in the Metropolis. An emissary of rebellion in the County of Antrim gives out that Dublin is expected to be attacked, and that there is no doubt of success. In addition to this expectation which he holds out to induce the people to rise, he tells them that if they don't turn out they will be put in requisition by the Government. The idea of a general insurrection is said from the same quarter to have spread much through the Counties of Down and Antrim; but it is also stated that it is considered by the greater number as a desperate enterprize.

"It is certainly true, so far as we can judge from all the information received from various quarters, that there are no leaders of any consequence or influence. But though an insurrection upon that account may be less formidable and not so ably conducted, that circumstance of itself is by no means a security against it, and leaders may rise up from the lowest class under whose guidance much mischief may be effected. I wish, therefore, to suggest to your consideration that great inconveniences may arise from the want of a power being vested in Government to take up suspected persons. I am aware of the general objection to any supervision, however partial, of the Habeas Corpus Act, and that it is desirable to avoid it if possible for any part of the United Kingdom, if it can be done with safety; but on the other hand it may be urged that it is better to prevent mischief by detaining those who are preparing for insurrection, than to trust it to their subsequent detection and punishment, and it

can hardly be expected that disaffection should have entirely ceased in this country, or that the enemy should not use every means to revive and increase it."

In consequence of the Patrick Street explosion Emmet decided to make the Marshalsea Lane depot his habitation, in order that he might personally supervise the further progress of operations. He also decided to hasten the day of the insurrection, and accordingly appointed the evening of the following Saturday, July 23. Saturday was market-day in Dublin, when it was the custom for crowds of the surrounding agricultural population to come in to sell their produce; and, besides, the streets on that evening were usually thronged with artisans and labourers, so that the assembly of the rebels at various points of the city, for the simultaneous attack on the Castle and the military barracks, was likely to pass unnoticed. Therefore, on Friday, July 22, Emmet sent commands to his confederates in Dublin, Kildare, and Wicklow, to be ready with their men at allotted posts within the city at nine o'clock on Saturday evening, when arms would be distributed to them and instructions issued as to their respective operations in the capture of Dublin.

What passed in the depot meanwhile is thus graphically described in the Chief Secretary's narrative:

"Until a week before the Insurrection not more than a dozen persons on the whole were admitted to the Depot, and no more than seven or eight were there at any one time. These persons, though chiefly of an humble class in life, were entirely confidential, and of known attachment to the cause. They brought in from time to time, in small bundles or baskets, or under their great-coats, pikeheads, pistols, blunderbusses, and ammunition. Boards were brought there of a length and thickness to be cut into pike handles, and a few beams which were afterwards hollowed in different ways—some to contain pikes, some to be charged with combustibles and laid in the streets to impede or destroy the military. The lease of the depot having been taken by a working carpenter, Henry Howley, for the express purpose of

making it his workhouse, no danger was apprehended from bringing the beams or boards in the most public manner, or from the noise of the tools used in manufacturing them, more especially as any work that could excite suspicion was done on one of the lofts, to which the only access was by a ladder and a small hole in the floor.

"As the quantity of pikes increased, these securities being considered insufficient, a partition of brick and mortar was built from the ground floor through all the lofts to the top of the building. This partition stood parallel to one of the walls at the distance of about six feet. On each loft a door was made in it of a very peculiar kind. It was small, and consisted of a frame of timber, in which bricks were laid in mortar. When shut it seemed to be part of the wall, so that no door appeared, and any person coming in might suppose the partition to be one of the walls of the building. Behind this partition the pikes when finished were deposited.

"At one time the landlord desired to see the premises, which alarmed Quigley and his party not a little; but having contrived to postpone him till the next day, and having in the meantime sent to Emmet for directions, they by his desire placed a trap door, with a lock and key, on the hole leading to the lofts, and resolved to say that the upper part had been let to a country man for corn stores. The landlord having no particular suspicion did not return.

"At one time two deserters were brought secretly, with their muskets, into the Depot, which they did not afterwards leave until the night of the Insurrection. During that time they were employed chiefly in making cartridges. At another time one of the Depot men brought in two muskets carefully concealed. These four muskets, so brought in, were the only arms of that kind they had. There were but twelve blunderbusses in the Depot until the day of the Insurrection, when six more were brought in. There were not at any time more than 3,000 pikes, twelve cases of pistols, and there was no sword but Mr. Emmet's. A rich General's uniform was prepared for Emmet; and a few other uniforms for the Colonels, laced also but not so richly, and several without lace for persons of inferior class. They were all green faced with white; the cloth for all was got at the shop of Allen & Hickson."

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About eleven o'clock on Saturday morning, July 23, ten of the leaders of the disaffected in Kildare arrived in Dublin. "They are all known to the Government," says Chief Secretary Wickham in his report, written in December, "and most of them are now in custody." Emmet met them at the White Bull Inn, Thomas Street, from which there was a back passage to the depot in Marshalsea Lane. The Kildare men were all substantial farmers. Their natural impulsiveness and irresponsibility as Irishmen were somewhat toned down by the phlegm and caution which Mother Earth imparts to those in close relations with her. They had heard of Emmet, of course, but they had never seen him before, and these veterans, many of them, were not impressed by the youth of the revolutionary chief. The rumour had gone abroad that the Dublin leaders of the conspiracy had refused to act. The countrymen accordingly insisted upon being introduced to their city confederates. They were not going to trust their lives and liberties, they said, to a raw, enthusiastic boy. But Emmet peremptorily refused to produce them; first, because it was only too true that the Dublin leaders—mainly shopkeepers—had proved unreliable; and, secondly, and mainly, because, as things were now appearing desperate, he chivalrously desired to hide as far as possible the identity of the men implicated in the plot.

The Kildare farmers then demanded to be shown the depot of arms. To this Emmet agreed. He conducted two of the band to the neighbouring arsenal in Marshalsea Lane. He pointed out to them the piles of pikes—sharp and deadly weapons they had proved to be in the hands of the infuriated peasantry during the Rebellion of 1798—their hafts hinged in the centre, so that they might be doubled up and secretly carried beneath a great-coat. He showed them also an immense store of musket ball-cartridges. So far so good. But in the way of fire-arms there were only eighteen blunderbusses and four muskets, which had been brought in by two army

deserters. The only sword in the place was one that Emmet had procured for himself. Some extraordinarily primitive weapons were exhibited. There were 104 quart bottles filled with gunpowder, fitted with fuses and quilted round with musket bullets, to do duty as hand grenades. There were eight logs of deal, 10 feet long and 1 foot square, bored in the centre, charged with gunpowder and stones, to supply the place of cannon. Emmet also showed the Kildare farmers 1,000 rudely-printed copies of the address of "The Provisional Government to the People of Ireland," which the youth himself had composed. It was a flamboyant production. But it emphatically declared that during the revolution life and property were to be held sacred. The first of the thirty decrees it promulgated was that tithes for the support of the clergy of the Established Church were for ever abolished, and that Church lands were the property of the nation. Finally, Emmet, with boyish pride, displayed the gorgeous uniform which he was to wear that evening as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the Irish Republic.

But these unimaginative, unromantic tillers of the soil scoffed at the boy's arsenal and his proclamations, and even at his magnificent dress. "Be the wars," they reported to their comrades in the White Bull Inn, "they wor made a nice game of be the youngster! They wor to attack the Artillery barracks, nothin' else, with a few ould blunderbusses! Oh, the divil was in it, intirely! It was to put the rope round the necks of dacent men the boy wanted! As they worn't fools, they would have no hand, act, or part in the business!" "The whole of them returned to their homes," writes Chief Secretary Wickham, "sending back their followers whom they met on the road."

* * *

What were the Irish Executive doing on that fateful Saturday, July 23, 1803? It is clear that the danger they feared was not an insurrection, but a French in-

vasion. On July 12 General Fox, Commander of the Forces, set out on a tour of inspection in the West, to see that the military were prepared for a probable repetition of the French descent on the coast of Mayo under General Hambert in 1799. Two days later occurred the explosion at Emmet's depot in Patrick Street. The Lord Lieutenant sent a hurried despatch to General Fox, informing him of the incident, and urging the necessity of precaution and watchfulness on the part of the military forces in Dublin. This letter miscarried in some way, and never reached the Commander of the Forces. Late on the night of July 22 General Fox returned to Dublin. Next day, Saturday, July 23, at two o'clock, he called by arrangement on the Viceroy at the Viceregal Lodge, Phœnix Park, for a consultation on the state of the country. Hardly had they sat down to discuss matters when the Viceroy received the following disquieting note from Marsden, the Under-Secretary, written in Dublin Castle at two o'clock:

"My Lord,

"On coming to town I find a considerable degree of alarm in the apprehension of a rising this night or tomorrow morning in Dublin. I have reason to think that something serious is intended. I wish your Excellency would come to town with General Fox in your carriage, which I would not request upon any light grounds."

The Lord Lieutenant and the Commander of the Forces set out immediately for Dublin Castle. Marsden told them that a person in the secrets of the disaffected had informed him there was to be an outbreak that night, though he was unable to give any particulars of the nature of the plot; that Mr. Alderman Manners had reported that a priest told him that morning "that a person whom he would not name had communicated to him intelligence of an intended rising," and that several people had informed him that considerable numbers of men were observed, in the course of the morning, coming into town, particularly from Kildare. This was the

sum total of the knowledge possessed by the Executive of the insurrection a few hours before its explosion.

All were agreed that there was not the remotest possibility of a rising attaining to any degree of success in the metropolis, with its garrison of 3,000 men—infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The idea of an attack upon the Castle was considered especially ridiculous. It not only had its own strong guard, but in Parliament Street—within a stone's-throw of its chief entrance—there was a barrack with an infantry regiment, while the Royal Barracks, where the bulk of the garrison was stationed, was at the other side of the river, within a quarter of an hour's ride. Disturbances might take place on the outskirts of the city, but nothing more serious was apprehended. However, General Fox undertook to send directions to the military in the various barracks and guard-houses to hold themselves in readiness during the night to suppress any popular tumult. Marsden also arranged to stay in the Castle all night, instead of sleeping in the Under-Secretary's lodge in the Phœnix Park. But it is significant of the complete absence of any information or any suggestion as to the probable form the rumoured insurrection would assume, should it come to a head, and of the ease of mind of the Lord Lieutenant, that his Excellency decided to return to the Viceregal Lodge—than which, owing to its remoteness from town, there could hardly have been a more inconvenient or a more insecure place for the head of the Government in the event of a rising—and on the way back, between five and six o'clock, he actually drove in his carriage through a thoroughfare off which was Marshalsea Lane—the headquarters of the insurgents—with its stores of powder and ball and pikes.

At nine o'clock half a dozen of the principal officers of the garrison, including General Sir Charles Asgill, commanding in the Dublin district, and Brigadier-General Dunne, of the Royal Barracks, assembled on the summons of General Fox at his headquarters, the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham. They were told by the Commander of the

Forces of the rumour at the Castle that a rising was to take place that night. "For my part," he added, "I cannot give much credit to it; and, indeed, the general opinion of the civil authorities seems to be that it is almost impossible such an event could take place in Dublin." "Well," said Sir Charles Asgill, "I have been in Ireland during the whole of the late Rebellion, and I have seen very extraordinary things happen, so that it is best to be on the alert and prepared for everything."

Accordingly, the officers were dismissed to their posts with the injunction to keep their men "ready to get under arms on any alarm, and on no account to be permitted to take off their accoutrements until one hour after daylight." Sir Charles Asgill was sent by General Fox to the Castle to inquire whether Marsden had any fresh information. James Street and Thomas Street lie in a direct line between the Royal Hospital and the Castle. As Asgill was riding down James Street he saw a crowd of men armed with pikes in conflict with a company of soldiers. His first thought was to go to the aid of the military, but changing his mind, he decided to return to the Royal Hospital to inform General Fox that the insurrection had begun. He was surrounded by a party of the mob, brandishing their pikes and shouting, and it was with difficulty that, putting spurs to his horse, he succeeded in forcing his way through them. Two of the other officers, riding the same way to their barracks, had also to fly for their lives.

Just as Asgill got back to the Royal Hospital with his alarming news a note from the Lord Lieutenant was delivered to the Commander of the Forces. Written at ten o'clock, it stated that Lieutenant-Colonel Aylmer, of the Kildare Militia, had just called at the Viceregal Lodge to say he had been told that the peasantry of Maynooth, co. Kildare, were marching on Dublin, and that they intended to attack the Lodge on their way. "At the same time that he thought it right to communicate the information he received, he admits," added the Viceroy, "that he feels a difficulty in giving

credit to it." That Hardwicke shared in Aylmer's incredulity is shown by his surprise at the action of General Fox in ordering—after he had left the Castle—that the military guard at the Viceregal Lodge (usually a sergeant and twelve men) should be increased.

"I have just learned," says his Excellency in a P.S. to the letter, "that you have given directions for augmenting the guard here to an officer and thirty men. I conclude from it that you have received some further information which induces you to think it advisable, and that, as alarm has been given, that precaution will not greatly add to it."

The reply of General Fox to the Viceroy, written in sprawling, shaky characters, is as follows:

"ROYAL HOSPITAL,
"*July* 23, 1803. 11 *o'clock p.m.*

"MY DEAR LORD,

"At the moment I was honoured with your Lordship's letter the firing in James-street commenced, and I was of course anxious to ascertain the cause of it before I answered your Excellency. The account given by the officer commanding the detachment of the 21st Regiment in James-street is that a body of men with pikes dashed suddenly upon his party, and that upon his firing upon them part of them threw down their pikes and the whole dispersed. One of the privates was severely wounded, two men made prisoners and fifteen pikes taken.

"It is impossible for one to say or presume to give any opinion how far it may be advisable for your Excellency's family to remain in the Park or go to the Castle. If I was to give any it would be to remain at the Lodge this night. I have given orders to Colonel Cotton with his patrole to pay particular attention to all the avenues of the Park, and have directed your Excellency's Guard to be augmented to a Captain and 60 men."

* * *

At nine o'clock that fateful evening of July 23, 1803, the great hour had come for Robert Emmet—the hour of his rapturous patriotic dreamings; the hour of a

great national awakening and uprising, when he should place himself at the head of a thousand determined men, and set out to seize Dublin Castle in the name of the Irish Republic. But what a consummation of his hopes and ambitions, of his months of feverish preparation for the great revolution! The Dublin men refusing to rise, the Kildare farmers gone home in disgust! But Emmet was determined that, whoever might be wanting, he, at least, should see the thing through. He put on his grand uniform as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the Irish Republic. The coat was green, with heavy golden epaulets. There was a white waistcoat, and tight pantaloons of the same colour, and Hessian boots. In the crimson sash round his waist were a brace of pistols, and by his side hung a sword. On his head was a beaver cocked hat with white feathers. His two chief Generals, Michael Quigley the bricklayer and Nicholas Stafford the baker, also wore green uniforms, but they paled before the glory of their young leader's regimentals. Emmet had all the assurance of youth in its own invincibility, and he readily put it to the touch. Forced by circumstances to a premature rising, before his elaborate and well-thought-out plans were ripe for execution, yet no thought of failure or death seems to have disturbed him. It was a beautiful summer evening, and in the soft setting sunshine and the radiant blue skies he saw not the shadow of the gallows, nor the glint of the executioner's knife. So, drawing his sword, he sallied forth from the depot in Marshalsea Lane, with firm step, erect front, and joyful heart, to certain outlawry and a shameful death!

Following Emmet as he appeared in Thomas Street from Marshalsea Lane were about a hundred men, twenty or so provided with blunderbusses, and the others armed with pikes. There was much shouting and yelling. The peaceable marketing crowds in that busy thoroughfare, highly puzzled, asked each other "What's up?" The inhabitants crowded the windows and looked down on the scene with amazement. Soon a panic set in. The

shopkeepers, interrupted at their busiest hour, hurried to put up their shutters, as they cursed the youth in the green and gold and white uniform—the patriot and dreamer—who, in setting out to make them free, had spoiled their evening's takings. Drunken ruffians poured out of the low inns and, arming themselves with pikes, joined the insurgents, bent solely on pillage and murder. Emmet, turning to the left, towards Dublin Castle, drew up his followers in Francis Street, and had them counted by Quigley and Stafford. About 300 they numbered, but not more than 100 were reliable. The youth then addressed them. He said that, as they were not strong enough to capture Dublin Castle, he proposed to lead them to the Wicklow mountains to await a more favouring chance for establishing the Irish Republic. What was that? Take them away from Dublin, where there were Sassenachs to be piked! And to the desolate, hungry Wicklow hills! Did anyone ever hear the like? Who was this gossoon who dared say so? To the devil they pitched the youngster, and his green and gold uniform! The yelling mob thus hurled their indignation at the boy. Let him run away, the coward, to the Wicklow mountains if he liked! They could get on very well without him in piking the Sassenachs! Just then a dragoon rode up Francis Street, from the direction of the Castle. He was an orderly, leisurely on his way to the Royal Hospital, the headquarters of the Commander of the Forces. Poor fellow! he was to be the first victim of the insurrection! With savage cries, the mob surrounded him, flung him from his horse, and piked him as he lay on the ground. Emmet was overwhelmed with horror by the cruel deed. This was not insurrection as he had imagined it—with banners flying, drums beating, bugles blowing, his gallant followers in deadly grapple with gallant foes! Collecting ten of his chief supporters—including Michael Quigley the bricklayer and Nicholas Stafford the baker—he fled from Francis Street to his house in Butterfield Lane. They reached the place just at eleven o'clock. Young Anne Devlin

was there, praying for the success of the rebellion. "Who's that?" she called out, on hearing the noise in the yard. "It's me, Anne," replied Emmet, coming into the girl's view. She saw his green and gold and white uniform. But what a contrast to its gallant bravery was that face of sorrow beneath the cocked hat and white feathers! "Oh, bad welcome to yez!" cried the girl bitterly in an Irish exclamation. "Is the world lost by ye, cowards that yez are, to lead the people to destruction, and then to lave them!" "Don't blame me, Anne; the fault is not mine," was Emmet's dejected reply.

* * *

The mob broke up into several parties after Emmet had fled, and for two hours held complete possession of James Street, Thomas Street, and Francis Street, almost the entire route between Dublin Castle, the seat of civil government, and the Royal Hospital, the headquarters of the military. Their principal leader was a soldier named James Bannan—one of the two deserters who had been in hiding for days in the depot at Marshalsea Lane—and in his red coat he was a conspicuous figure in the turbulent scenes that followed. There was a barrack in James Street occupied by 150 men of the 21st Regiment, or the Royal North British Fusiliers. The senior officer on duty, suspicious of the movements of the mob in James Street, but without even the remotest idea that an insurrection had broken out, despatched Lieutenant Brady, with a company of the regiment, to fetch Colonel Brown from his lodgings on Usher Quay. A body of pikemen rushed suddenly upon the soldiers as they were marching through James Street. They soon fled, however, flinging away their weapons, before the musketry fire of the "red-coats." Meanwhile, Colonel Brown, on the way to the barracks, accompanied by a servant, fell into the hands of another party of the rebels, and was piked to death by their leader, Henry Howley the carpenter.

A private carriage came along Thomas Street, driving in the direction of the Castle. In it were two gentlemen and a young lady. It was stopped by the mob. "What do you want?" demanded the elder of the gentlemen. "I am Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the King's Bench." The judge—one of the most humane dispensers of the law in a rather brutal age—was immediately pulled out of the carriage and piked. He resided at Newlands, a few miles outside the city, and, hearing the rumours of an insurrection, decided that as a member of the Privy Council his post was at the Castle. The other gentleman, the Rev. Richard Wolfe (Kilwarden's nephew), was also cruelly murdered. The young lady was the judge's daughter. With the departure of Emmet, the rebellion had fallen into the hands of the offscourings of the lowest quarters of Dublin. But the Irish instinct of respect for women was alive even in the breasts of this rabble. In all the horrors of 1798 in Wexford the peasants laid not a hand immodestly upon any women of their opponents, while their own wives and daughters and sisters were being outraged by the military. "Run away with you, miss, and God save you!" cried the insurgents to Miss Wolfe—after they had foully murdered her aged father before her eyes—and the unhappy young lady, distraught and hysterical, hastened unmolested to the Castle.

Another section of the mob attacked a guard-house, occupied by a few companies of the 21st Regiment, in the Coombe, the back lanes of Thomas Street, but were easily repulsed. There were two or three other murders within the area of disturbance. But by eleven o'clock detachments of infantry and cavalry arrived, and stamped out what remained of the smouldering embers of the insurrection. About thirty of the rebels were killed. The Yeomanry were also called out, and passed the night searching the houses of the district. By morning the prisons were crammed with suspected persons.

* * *

The following hurried despatch from Marsden, Under-Secretary, to Lord Pelham conveyed the first news of the insurrection to Whitehall:

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*July* 23, 1803, 11 *o'clock p.m.*

"MY LORD,

"I am much afflicted to be obliged to inform your Lordship that a very serious degree of Insurrection has broken out in Dublin, and its vicinity.

"For some days past we had heard that a rising was talked of, and it was asserted by many that it would take place. Such precautions were taken as the circumstances appeared to warrant, but the mischievous disposition which prevails at present is beyond what was calculated upon.

"Early this day we heard from the neighbourhood of the capital, particularly on the Kildare side, that the country people had forsaken their labour under an idea of marching to Dublin. The sensation excited by this in Dublin and in the country increased in that degree during the day that the mobs in the streets towards evening assumed a very formidable appearance.

"General Fox and Sir Chas. Asgill concerted measures with the Lord Lieutenant to make the best disposition of the forces in the garrison that circumstances would admit of, and the Yeomanry collected and their services were made use of.

"As yet order is in no degree restored, and I am distressed beyond measure to acquaint your Lordship that I heard Lord Kilwarden has been stopped in his carriage in Thomas Street, and has been put to death; and I believe his son has shared the same fate. A magistrate of the name of Clarke has also been shot at in the street, and is badly wounded.

"I write this to your Lordship without being able to communicate with the Lord Lieutenant, who is in the Park. I shall send another messenger in the morning to inform your Lordship of what further occurs in this most distressing business.

"I do not hear of any other personal injury of consequence but what I have mentioned.

"Your Lordship's very obedient and humble servant,
"A. MARSDEN.

"RIGHT HON. LORD PELHAM.

"Miss Wolfe was in the carriage with her father and brother, and she says that both were killed. It may not be fact; but the tide will have fallen if I detain the messenger."*

* * *

The next day, Sunday, July 23, the Lord Lieutenant received two letters which afford a curious contrast in human nature. One was from Colonel Napier, Paymaster of the Forces, to whom we have already been introduced.†

"CASTLETOWN,
"*Sunday morning, 8 o'clock.*

"MY LORD,

"I am sorry to inform your Excellency that my servant has just come from my house at Celbridge,‡ which was attacked by a party of men with arms about six o'clock. Their number, he tells me, amounted to about fifty. They demanded his arms, threatening to shoot him in case of refusal, and they obtained a fowling-piece and two carbines, with which, they made off towards Clare or Maynooth. They asked him if there were any other houses in the neighbourhood where they were likely to find arms, and told him they wanted nothing else. One of them, who appeared to be a leader, was dressed in

* From "Ireland, Private and Secret, 1803."—*Home Office Papers.*

† See Chapter IX, "The Distribution of Honours."

‡ The Napiers resided at Celbridge Abbey, co. Kildare, a house rich in historic and literary memories, associated with the names of Dean Swift and of Henry Grattan. Celbridge Abbey was, early in the eighteenth century, the residence of Bartholomew Van Homrigh, who was Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1698, and the father of Esther Van Homrigh, the "Vanessa" of Swift's peoms. Dean Swift was for years a frequent guest and visitor at Celbridge Abbey. And then, some sixty or seventy years later, Celbridge Abbey was the residence of Colonel Marlay, the uncle of Henry Grattan. When Grattan's Liberal politics and patriotic leanings became so displeasing to his father as to render home-life unpleasant, he frequently retired to Celbridge Abbey, where he was always received with affection by his uncle, Colonel Marlay, and another uncle, Dr. Marlay, Dean of St. Patrick's, and afterwards Protestant Bishop of Waterford, who sympathized with him in his views of political affairs, which were repugnant to his father, the Tory Recorder of Dublin. There is a grotto in the grounds of Celbridge Abbey overlooking the Liffey which was a frequent resort of Swift and "Vanessa," and, in a later generation, of Henry Grattan.

a sort of green uniform faced with orange. My servant being an old Scotch soldier, I can depend upon his intelligence, which I would have conveyed to your Excellency in person had I not been convinced that you would prefer my staying here to take measures for defending this house, where there are a considerable number of arms.

"I shall try every means of gaining further information on this serious subject, as I am well acquainted with the topography of the country. Your Excellency will find me prepared to receive and obey whatever instructions you may deem it necessary to give me; and I trust that any risk which might attend the execution of whatever you may deem expedient for the King's service, and the safety of the public, will not make you hesitate a moment in accepting my services, as I must think my life well disposed of in a cause where a lenient and impartial administration of justice has left the disaffected no excuse for their wild and wicked extravagance.

"I have the honour to remain, my Lord, your Excellency's obliged and obedient servant,

"GEO. NAPIER.

"P.S.—I this moment hear that the villains are returning, and are at the border of the wood. If they come here I hope we shall receive them warmly."

The other letter was from the Rev. Dr. Kearney, Provost of Trinity College:

"PROVOST'S HOUSE,
"TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,
"*July 24th*, 1803.

"MY LORD,

"At such a crisis as the present I am ashamed to intrude on your Excellency with a request.

"I have two sons in Orders for some years, unbeneficed. I have been an awkward solicitor for their advancement, and have had no success with the Bishops hitherto, except in a slight instance for the eldest. The horrid murders of last night have left a living vacant, held by my lamented friend, Lord Kilwarden's nephew. Should your Excellency think proper to confer it on the Reverend Thomas Henry Kearney, I shall feel a great private obligation added to my unfeign'd and high respect.

"I shall only add that my situation is attended with as great expenses as that of a bishop, and I am utterly destitute of any patronage.

"I have the honour to be, my Lord, with warm and perfect esteem, your Excellency's faithful, obedient, humble servant,

"JOHN KEARNEY."

CHAPTER III

WAS THE EMMET INSURRECTION A POPISH PLOT?

ON Sunday the Lord Lieutenant sat down in Dublin Castle to prepare accounts of the insurrection for London. The following is his official report to Lord Pelham, as Home Secretary:

"*Private.*

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*24th July*, 1803.

"MY LORD,

"It is with the greatest concern that I am under the necessity of informing your Lordship that an Insurrection of a very serious nature broke out yesterday evening in the city of Dublin, and tho' it was fortunately suppressed by the exertion of the officers and troops composing the garrison, and by the zeal and alacrity with which every Yeomanry corps came forward in the course of the night, was attended with some circumstances of a very atrocious nature, which it is my painful duty to relate to your Lordship.

"In the course of yesterday morning a report reached me that an attack was intended on the city of Dublin in the course of the night, and in consequence of information to the same effect being communicated to me at a later hour of the day, I consulted with General Fox as to the best steps to be taken for the security of the city.

"In the afternoon a general alarm seemed to prevail, but no act of violence was committed till between 9 and 10 o'clock, when an attack was made upon Lord Kilwarden's carriage in Thomas Street, between the Royal Hospital and the Castle, as he was coming to town from

his house near Rathcoole. The whole of that part of the street was filled with people, most of whom were armed with pikes or firearms. A party of them, upon stopping the carriage, forced Lord Kilwarden and his nephew, Mr. Richard Wolfe, to get out, and stabbed them with pikes in presence of his daughter, who escaped to the Castle almost in a state of insensibility.

"It is also with great concern that I am obliged to acquaint your Lordship that Colonel Browne of the 21st Regiment of Foot was murdered on his way to the barrack in James's Street and that two men of the 16th Light Dragoons were killed on passing thro' the street on duty.

"The only regular attack that was made in any part of the town was upon the barrack of the 21st Regiment in James's Street, where, after two discharges of musquetry from the Guard, the assailants retired, leaving several pikes, a few prisoners, and one man badly wounded. Several persons were also killed in Thomas Street, many of whom could not be ascertained, and are supposed to have come from the country.

"A considerable number of pikes, several barrels of gunpowder and a quantity of ammunition were found, in the course of the night, in a house in the neighbourhood of Thomas Street, with a great number of proclamations and handbills recently printed, and which, it was said, were to have been issued this day.

"In the midst of this unhappy detail, I am happy to acquaint your Lordship that the mail coaches, both those of the country and those which arrived in town, either escaped or resisted the attack which was made upon them near Dublin. The only one that was attacked was fired at in the town of Maynooth, but by the intrepidity of the guards, it effected its passage through the town without being stopped.

"I have thought it my duty, with the concurrence of the Chancellor and the Commander of the Forces, to place upon permanent duty all the Yeomanry Corps of the city and county of Dublin; and notwithstanding their recent formation I can with great truth bear testimony to the spirit and alacrity with which they have undertaken the service which they may be required to perform."

Pelham's reply shows that the King and the Cabinet were dissatisfied with the meagre information of the insurrection contained in the Lord Lieutenant's despatch :

"STRATTON STREET,
"*28th July*, 1803, 10 *o'clock p.m.*

"I have it in command to inform your Excellency that his Majesty has been pleased to send a message to both Houses of Parliament, a copy of which is enclosed ; and his Majesty's confidential servants have thought it necessary to propose to Parliament for the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and a Martial Law Bill similar to the one which was in force during the late Rebellion in Ireland. It is hoped that Parliament will be induced to dispense with the usual forms of proceedings, and that these Bills may receive the Royal Assent to-morrow.

"His Majesty approves of the measure which your Excellency has adopted of putting the Volunteers and Yeomanry Corps upon full pay, and relies upon your Excellency's vigilance and attention being directed to every measure of precaution and vigour which the situation of the country may require.

"Various reports have reached London in private letters. It is, therefore, important that your Excellency's dispatches should enter into details, as far as may be consistent with the exertions you must be called upon to make at this moment ; and it is to be hoped that in the progress of the inquiries that your Excellency may have instituted the origin of this daring and seemingly unexpected convulsion may be discovered.

"A very important printed paper, entitled 'The Provisional Government to the People of Ireland,' has been communicated in a private letter, and your Excellency has said in your letter of the 24th that proclamations recently printed, and which were to have been issued on the following day, had been found in the course of the night of the 23rd ; but as your Excellency did not transmit any of these proclamations, I wish to be informed whether any papers of the description I have mentioned were amongst those alluded to by your Excellency."

The message of the King to Parliament, a copy of which was enclosed, runs :

"His Majesty feels the deepest regret in acquainting this House that a treasonable and daring spirit of Insurrection has manifested itself in Ireland, which has been marked by circumstances of peculiar atrocity in the city of Dublin.

"His Majesty relies with perfect confidence on the wisdom of his Parliament that such measures will be forthwith adopted as are best calculated to afford protection and security to his Majesty's loyal subjects in that part of the United Kingdom, and to restore and preserve general tranquillity."

* * *

The Viceroy is more outspoken and interesting in his unofficial "private and confidential" communications to his brother, Charles Yorke. Writing on Sunday morning, July 23, his Excellency says:

"With an increased Guard, which appeared to be very necessary, I remained with my family at the Park till this morning, when I came to town at an early hour to meet the Chancellor, who was escorted by a party of the Lawyers' Corps from Kilmacud in the course of the night. By living at the Castle I am more in the way of intelligence and of business, with less inconvenience to those with whom I shall have to transact it. We have this day issued a Proclamation, which gave rise to some discussion whether Martial Law should not be proclaimed thro' the country. But as we have no proof of treasonable Insurrection in any other part of the country, I think it would have been improper to have suspended the Circuits, and to have created so great an alarm in England as such a declaration of general rebellion in Ireland would necessarily have excited. I was therefore happy that the Chancellor and myself, supported by Mr. Fitzgerald, the Attorney-General, and the Archbishop of Dublin, persuaded the Council to suspend any Proclamation of greater violence and extent till to-morrow, when we may expect some information concerning the state of the country.

"Everything has been quiet this day, and I am likely to pass the night undisturbed. The rebels have mostly left the town, and it is said that they will try a battle at Naas, after which, if they succeed, they will attack

Dublin. They do not seem to have been ably commanded, and indeed everything shows that this Insurrection was the work of a rabble without leaders."

On the 25th the Viceroy writes that there had been no further disturbance in Dublin.

"It is also a satisfactory circumstance," he adds, "that the mail coaches from the country arrived in due course this morning, without having been attacked, and that the guards report the country through which they had passed everywhere quiet."

* * *

Meanwhile, it was freely said the Government had been caught napping. The civil department had no previous information of the conspiracy; the military department was unprepared to cope with the sudden emergency. Though the scene of the insurrection was within a few minutes' ride of the Royal Barracks, two hours elapsed before the garrison was turned out. The gentry, especially, were extremely indignant. They declared that if they had their native Parliament adequate measures would have been taken for their protection.

"It is unfortunate," the Lord Lieutenant admits in a "private and confidential" letter to Charles Yorke, on July 26, "that such a conspiracy should have been formed and brought to such a point without being discovered, and that it should be possible for a secret of such a nature to be so well kept. Some people find fault and affect to blame both Marsden and Wickham, for too great a degree of credulity on the state of the country. As to Wickham, he has been absent for some time; but from what he saw at Limerick he has no great reason to trust to vague rumour.* Marsden has all the connexions and correspondents who gave information in the Rebellion, and knows them all well." He adds: "I had some vague information of risings in Belfast and Dublin; but it was not of a nature to act upon, and the writer

* In 1802 reports were received from Limerick of the existence there of a political conspiracy. The Chief Secretary held an investigation on the spot, and found that the movement was agrarian, and directed entirely against landlords and tithe proctors.

desired a sum of money at the same time, which appeared to explain his motives. In addition to this, the vague rumours which many people are fond of circulating make one less disposed to credit those which are real."

In another communication to Charles Yorke the Viceroy states that Patrick McCabe, a chandler of Francis Street, who had been arrested, confessed that he was one of the leaders of the insurrection; but asserted positively that, though he breakfasted on Saturday morning, July 23, at a public-house near Island Bridge with three others for the purpose of concerting a plan of attack on the artillery barracks of the district, he was not apprised of the intention of rising on that day, or informed of the existence of the depot of arms and ammunition in Marshalsea Lane.

"If this is true it is a curious circumstance," comments the Viceroy; "but if such a system of secrecy is observed amongst those who are to execute a plan of insurrection, at the same time that it diminishes our chance of procuring good information, it must greatly diminish their chance of success at any point."

The feeling of indignation against the Irish Executive, however, continued to swell.

"One cannot wonder at the loyal inhabitants and landlords of Ireland being highly exasperated and alarmed at the prospect of another rebellion," the Viceroy writes to his brother on July 29. "They are certainly rather too impatient for punishment, and would be inclined to very violent measures; but I am sorry they should draw the comparison between the security they would have enjoyed at such a moment from the decisive and early measures of their own Parliament in College Green, and the danger of their case not being so well understood by a Parliament sitting in Westminster."

Charles Yorke, writing to the Lord Lieutenant on Angust 2, 1803, says:

"I ought not to conceal from you that very insidious attempts are making in various quarters to make the world believe that the Irish Government were surprised,

that you had no intelligence or paid no regard to it, and that no proper military precautions were taken in the course of Friday and Saturday morning. These representations are contained in many private letters, many of which appear to be written by people who are no friends to the present Administration, and I guess that Cooke* and his friends have been sufficiently active in propagating these stories.

"Another circumstance which has been dwelt upon, and which I confess gave me considerable uneasiness, was the total want of any official details as to what really did pass in the course of the 23rd. I hope, however, when I go down to Whitehall to-day to find that some are arrived, for in truth it is very necessary. Hitherto Government have been able to publish literally nothing to quiet people's minds, or to set them right. The newspapers, therefore, with their exaggerated or false private statements, are completely in possession of the publick ear."

In the same "private and confidential" communication Charles Yorke relates that he has been offered promotion from the War Office to the Home Office—in succession to Lord Pelham—with a seat in the Cabinet.

"After all, I must own to you," he says, "that I feel very little inclined, indeed, to this same elevation. Nothing should induce me to consent to it but the idea that *we* should be *co-operating*, and that I might be able to make the remainder of your Government more easy and comfortable."

Looked at from any other point of view, he could see nothing encouraging in the situation. Addington was a weak Prime Minister, and Pitt, anxious to return to office, was hostile to the Administration.

"Again," continues Charles Yorke, "with the exception of Lord Castlereagh, Lord Hawkesbury, and Lord Hobart, the Cabinet is absolutely detestable; and I cannot comprehend how it will be possible for me to get on with Lord Westmorland, his manners are so disagreeable and repugnant to my feelings."

* Edward Cooke was Under-Secretary for Ireland under Cornwallis, and on the appointment Hardwicke resigned, because he was not made Chief Secretary.

The Lord Lieutenant, replying on August 5, recognises the force of his brother's objections to entering the Cabinet as Home Secretary.

"You will certainly find in the present Cabinet," he says, "some of whom you cannot have a very high opinion, and with whom you cannot act very cordially." He goes on: "On the other hand, you will certainly be a support to the Administration in the Cabinet, and in the Home Office you will have an opportunity of being particularly useful to Ireland; for the disadvantage of a weak, inefficient and hostile Secretary of State is greater than you can conceive, without having been called upon to consider all the points on which it bears. So long, therefore, as I remain in my present office, which, at present, I could not with propriety think of leaving (unless it should be thought advisable for the public service), I shall feel a great comfort and support in having you at the head of the Home Department. But I would not have you lay too much stress upon that consideration, so far as it affects me personally, though I assure you that I feel all the kindness of it."

On August 4 Charles Yorke was able to convey to the Lord Lieutenant the gratifying intelligence that Geroge III. and his Cabinet held the Irish Government blameless in the matter of the Insurrection.

"Addington desires me to tell you," says Charles Yorke, "that yesterday in the closet the King said to him that he was perfectly satisfied that there had been no remissness whatever on the part of the Irish Government, and that he was much displeased at the reports that had been propagated upon the subject. I am also desired to mention that the King said this of his own mind, and without having been led to the subject by Addington. God bless you!"

In the following letter Charles Yorke conveys to the Lord Lieutenant the news that he is Home Secretary:

"*Private and Confidential.*

"CHARLES STREET,
"*August 18th*, 1803.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I was detained so late at St. James's yesterday that I did not get home till six o'clock with the *Seals*,

which, by-the-bye, Lord Pelham never sent, as had been settled; and the King, after wasting some time, was under the necessity of sending the Duke of Portland to fetch them. My companions have not contributed much to my rest last night, assisted by a good deal of feverish indisposition caused by the extreme heat of the weather, and the agitation and hurry of the last four or five days. God send me health and spirits equal to the task, for in truth I find them very unequal to it in these times; and there is nothing that can support me under it than the idea that I am acting with you and assisted by Pole Carew.* I certainly said everything that could be said to Addington to induce him to select somebody else who was likely to be of more use, but in vain.

"The King was extremely gracious to me as usual, and spoke very kindly about you. At the same time it was easy to perceive that some impression had been made on H.M.'s mind to the disadvantage of some of the subordinates in the Irish Government, particularly Marsden, as if he had neglected to collect and furnish proper intelligence of the plans of the disaffected. I said what appeared to be proper to remove these impressions, and to place circumstances in a just point of view; and, I am in hopes, with some effect."

The Lord Lieutenant, in a letter of congratulation to his brother, says:

"For myself I need not say how material a change for the better, both on public and private grounds, I shall feel for your appointment to the Home Department; and whenever you have time to look back into the despatches both to and from the Office you will see how little support I received, how meagre the correspondence has been on the part of Lord Pelham, and how little advantage the public has derived from his services as Secretary of State."

* * *

An inquiry into the origin of the conspiracy was at once instituted by the Lord Lieutenant. Was it religious and Catholic, or political and republican? That was the question which agitated the mind of the Viceroy. His

* An Irish official whom Yorke had appointed his principal private secretary.

Excellency, of course, received many letters on the subject. Here is an interesting communication from Sir Richard Musgrave, the Customs official, and the author of a "History of the Rebellion of 1798":

"CUSTOM HOUSE,
"*July 29th*, 1803.

"MY LORD,

"I take the liberty of addressing your Excellency on the following occasion. I have been frequently asked since last Saturday night whether I had not given information to Government of the intended rebellion before its explosion; and I uniformly declared, what I now say, that I had no suspicion of it until I saw Mr. Humphrey French, a wine merchant in Dame Street, about nine o'clock on that night, and he informed me that he fell into the hands of a body of pikemen, near the Canal; that they stopped and threatened him, and asked him his religion, and that he believed they would have murdered him, but that he falsely told them that he was a Papist. It would have been highly criminal in me to have withheld any information of that kind, had I been in possession of it. But that dreadful plot had been concerted with such deep dissimulation that I had not the most distant suspicion of it till the eve of its explosion.

"Some Protestant mechanics have informed me that many of their Popish neighbours exultingly boasted about ten o'clock on Saturday night that no Protestant would be left alive in the city of Dublin at one o'clock. I have been well assured for some months past that great numbers of the leaders in the late Rebellion of 1798 had frequently come to Dublin, and had meetings, particularly from Kildare and Wicklow. Roger O'Connor,* who and whose family were so conspicuous in that dreadful business, has been recently in town for days together, and used to meet persons of similar principles at the house of a man notoriously disaffected.

"I have undoubted authority for saying that the Popish multitude all over Ireland have not in the smallest degree changed the sanguinary principles, and the treasonable opinions, which they manifested in the Rebellion of 1798; and I am convinced that the Popish clergy never will

* Roger O'Connor, a county Cork gentleman, was the father of Fergus O'Connor, M.P. for Nottingham, the leader of the Chartists.

suffer them to abate. The late infernal plot had been in contemplation many months, and it was known to the Popish multitude in the Metropolis and in a circuit for many miles round it, and it did not transpire until it was on the point of exploding. Such singular secrecy could not have been maintained so long, unless the Popish priests had enjoined it under the strongest sanctions of their religion. I am thoroughly convinced that there is not a Popish priest in the archdiocese of Dublin that was not privy to it, and did not promote with the utmost zeal the dreadful rebellion which was lately intended. And yet Dr. Troy,* with that dissimulation which was ever a characteristic of Popery, particularly in all the Irish rebellions, publishes a pastoral exhortation to promote loyalty and obedience to the Protestant State !

" The Popish multitude, under pain of eternal damnation, are obliged to disclose to their clergy in their confession boxes the inmost secrets of their hearts. Could, then, the fabrication of pikes and of various implements of war, could a manufacture of gunpowder, could large sums of money to form a military chest be collected among the people, without the knowledge of the Popish priests ? Doctor Troy was actively concerned in the year 1792 in the proceedings of the Catholic Committee,or Back-lane Parliament, even after the Lords Kinmare, Fingall, and a few loyal Popish gentlemen had been expelled from it, because they endeavoured to inculcate moderation. He signed all their declarations and protestations, expressing the warmest loyalty and indicative of the purest principles of the Christian religion ; and yet, though a plot was formed at so early a period for the subversion of the Constitution, and the massacre of the Protestants, Doctor Troy did not disclose it to Government. On the contrary, he was actively employed among the agitators of 1795, when the Kingdom was convulsed from one end to the other, and the Metropolis was constantly in eminent danger.

" Soon after the Papists obtained the elective franchise, a concession which has been so fatal to the peace of Ireland, and to the security of the Empire, Doctor Troy published a pastoral letter, trusting to enkindle fanaticism in the multitude, and avowing many of the most dangerous doctrines of Popery. It was so very

* The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

exceptionable that his own sectaries bought up the whole impression and destroyed it. However, I procured one copy.

"The most striking difference between the former Rebellion and the present is this—a total exclusion of Protestants. In the conspiracy which preceded the Rebellion of 1798, the Popish conspirators prevailed on a few Protestants in Dublin who were republicans to join with them, and by flattering them they persuaded them to appear more active and ostensible than any members of their own religion; by which they masked their sanguinary design of exterminating Protestants of every description, which they manifested universally on the explosion of the Rebellion.

"The Popish conspirators of that day had two oaths. One was calculated to inveigh Protestants; the other, suited to their own flock, contained an obligation to murder all Protestants, and on the present occasion they have adopted exclusively the latter. The new system was embraced soon after the late Rebellion—I mean of 1798; and the above-mentioned oath has been universally taken by the Popish multitude. A rebel has acknowledged this in an affidavit which I have now before me, and which was sworn the 6th of June, 1803. It contains the following words: 'That he was sworn an United Irishman in the late Rebellion; and that on or about the month of September last he was sworn to the new rebel test oath, according to the system now established by United Irishmen, to the following effect: to be true to and assist the French on their landing; to overturn the present Constitution, to murder the Protestants of the country and to possess themselves of their property.'

"But oaths are unnecessary, because the first and most sacred duty of a priest is to inspire the children of his communion with a bitter and fanatical hatred of an heretical State, and of their Protestant fellow-subjects; and for this reason the mass of the Irish Papists never cease to thirst for the blood of Protestants of every description. The great misfortune is, and has been, that Englishmen are unacquainted with, and cannot be persuaded to believe, that the principles of Irish Papists are so malignant and deep-rooted; and therefore they think and hope that they may be conciliated and made loyal to the State by being admitted within its pale. But the

fatal concessions granted to them in the present Reign prove beyond a doubt that this will be a sisyphean attempt. Nothing can palliate the conduct of the British Cabinet towards this kingdom for forty years but their radical ignorance of what I have stated. I have given a short sketch of this in my History, page 41.

"I shall conclude with congratulating your Excellency on the narrow escape which the Government and the loyal subjects have had, and of assuring you that I believe the desperate design of the Irish Papists is for the present completely defeated.

"I have the honour to be with the utmost respect, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

"RICHD. MUSGRAVE.*"

The very next day, July 30, Musgrave, writing again from the Custom House, the scene of his official duties, sent the following letter to Dr. Lindsay, the Lord Lieutenant's private secretary:

"DEAR SIR,

"I beg leave to communicate to you for his Excellency's information that Father Neil, parish priest of Ballymacoda, near Youghall, in the county of Cork, was transported to Botany Bay, for having given absolution

* "Sir Richard was literally insane on all political subjects, his imagination being occupied night and day with nothing but Papists, Jesuits, and rebels. Once in the dead of the night his lady was awakened by a sense of positive suffocation, and, rousing herself, found that Sir Richard was in the very act of strangling her! He had grasped her by the throat with all his might, and, muttering heavy imprecations, had nearly succeeded in his diabolical attempt. She struggled, and at length extricated herself from his grasp, upon which he roared out, making a fresh effort: 'You infernal Papist rebel! You United Irishman! I'll never part with you alive if you don't come quietly!' In fact, this crazy Orangeman had in his dream fancied that he was contesting with a rebel whom he had better choke than suffer to escape, and poor Lady Musgrave was nearly sacrificed to his excess of loyalty. In her *robe de chambre* and slippers she contrived to get out of the house, and never more ventured to return, as she now clearly perceived that even her personal safety could not be calculated on in her husband's society" (BARRINGTON: "Personal Recollections of his Own Times.") Musgrave allowed his wife £700 a year for her separate maintenance; but in the Hardwicke Correspondence there are several letters from her brother to the Lord Lieutenant complaining that the allowance was not paid regularly.

for murder in 1798. See appendix xi., page 47 of my History. He returned lately, and he is now disseminating treason and sedition in the vicinity of Cloyne, in the county of Cork. He usually mounts a hayrick, when with his arms expanded and his eyes turned to heaven, he is surrounded by many thousand fanatics, in whom the sight of him kindles such a degree of false zeal that I am persuaded he could induce them to commit any atrocity, or to face any danger, how great soever. They appear before him sighing, groaning, crying, and beating their breasts.

"About nine o'clock on Saturday night the 23rd inst., a relation of mine, passing over the lower ferry, saw a fire on the mountains to the south of Dublin; and having asked what it meant, a fellow, half-drunk, said 'there is to be a Rising in Dublin this night.' It is a positive fact that heaps of turf were piled on many mountains to the south and west of Dublin; and there were persons ready to set fire to them had the insurgents succeeded in getting possession of the Metropolis. In a few days I shall learn how far they extended.

"Though the Irish Protestants have been in a woeful state of persecution, as long as I can remember, the Papists have succeeded in representing them as their persecutors. It is astonishing what a number of writers and missionaries they have employed in England for that purpose. Government have been so far imposed on by them that they have given pensions to some of the most dangerous incendiaries whose names I can mention. One of these was Father Hussey, whom Mr. Plowden, a great blockhead and a bigot, praises in a most extraordinary manner in his voluminous and stupid work on Ireland, which I have bought for the purpose of answering it.

"Nothing endears the Popish priests to their flock so much as their punishment for crimes, how heinous soever, under a Protestant State. Miracles are supposed to be wrought by the clay of Father Sheehy's tomb, near Clonmel. When at Lord Lismore's I have seen numbers of the Popish multitude round it on their knees. Neil is regarded at present as a saint. Thus the blood of Father Gurnet, the Jesuit, received on a cloth, was supposed in Elizabeth's reign to work miracles in England and even in Spain. See in my History an account of that glorious

martyr, Father Nicholas Sheehy, page 33 of the text, and page 3 of the appendix. I remember all the enormities perpetrated by him, as described by me. It was said, and believed by the besotted multitude, that all the jury who convicted him died untimely and unnatural deaths; but I extracted their names from the Crown Office, and inserted them in the 3rd edition of my History, and proved that they all died in their beds.*

"On Saturday night the Attorney's corps rallied at the Castle, and mustered strong. On seeing them drawn up in the Castle yard I said to myself, if these men were Papists, instead of depending on their loyalty to defend the Government we must have had persons to watch them."

Musgrave adds:

"I have been so much overcome with watching and fatigue, that I have scarcely strength or sight to guide my pen, which I hope will plead my excuse for the incorrect manner in which this is written."

Two days later, on August 1, 1803, he sent another long and very extraordinary letter to Dr Lindsay, from which I give an extract:

"On Thursday, the 21st of July, Doctor Troy and his brother dined at the house of one Reilly, a mean huckster at Lucan, in company with the titular Bishop of Kilkenny, two priests of the name of Ryan and Dunn, and Bernard Coyle, a noted rebel, who had been imprisoned, but was

* Rev. Nicholas Sheehy, parish priest of Clogheen, co. Tipperary, was believed by the Government to be the organizer of a band of Whiteboys, who perpetrated many outrages in his parish. In 1764 an informer named Bridge disappeared, and although his body was never discovered, it was concluded that he had been murdered. Father Sheehy was evading arrest on the charge of high treason, but surrendered on the condition that he would be tried in Dublin and not in Clonmel. The trial did take place in Dublin in 1765, and the prisoner was acquitted. He was immediately arrested for complicity in the murder of Bridge, was brought to Clonmel, despite the engagement of the Government, was tried there with his brother Edmund, with the result that both were convicted and hanged on March 15, 1766. His grave near Clonmel is still an object of pilgrimage to the peasantry.

liberated without being tried by Lord Cornwallis. This was the man who fought Mr. Ogle.*

"It was considered as a singular and suspicious circumstance that Doctor Troy should dine in the house of so low a person, where the accommodation was so bad, as there was a good inn and a hotel at Lucan. The titular Bishop of Kilkenny is a suspected person, and there was a serious alarm that a rising would take place in that city. These two priests reside at Lucan, and I believe were concerned in conducting Lord Edward FitzGerald to Dublin, for which one of them got a very good living from Doctor Troy. Lord Edward FitzGerald approached Dublin to head the Rising here through Lucan and Leixlip, in the guise of a pig-driver. These two priests assisted him in his progress, and one of them had him at his house. Coyle recently became a bankrupt, and would therefore be glad of a scramble.

"Immense numbers of the Popish multitude came to Dublin from Lucan and Leixlip and their vicinities on Saturday the 23rd inst. In short, all the chapels on Sunday the 24th were deserted. I desired the person who communicated this circumstance to me to let me know what appearance they made yesterday, and this morning he writes to me that they were very much crowded yesterday.

"Last Saturday an English lady went into a shop in Sackville Street to buy some articles. She said that she and a few friends had come to make the tour of Ireland, but that the disturbed state of the country deterred them from doing so. A Popish priest who happened to enter the shop said: 'The disturbances are occasioned by the Protestants, who will never stop till they wade in the blood of Roman Catholicks.' This incident was related to me by two persons who were present. The Popish priests never cease to instil such notions into their flock,

* George Ogle was a celebrated member of the Irish Parliament, a man of fashion, and a song-writer. His best-known compositions are "Banna's Banks" and "Molly Asthore." Although a Whig and a follower of Henry Grattan, he was opposed to Catholic emancipation. He was challenged to a duel by Barney Coyle, a whisky distiller and member of the Catholic Board, in 1778, for having in the Irish House of Commons said that "a Papist could swallow a false oath as easily as a poached egg." Several shots were exchanged, but neither party was hit. Ogle afterwards declared that he had been misreported, that the remark referred to "rebels," and not to "Papists."

but they might be contented by the liberality, the benevolence, and humanity of the Protestants, whom they denominated Orangemen, ever since the union of the Protestants under that name for the defence of the Constitution.

"To counteract such abominable opinions, I used to associate much with Roman Catholics in my country, and I prevailed on a priest to dine and sleep often at my house. But in the year 1795, when the conspiracy which preceded the Rebellion of 1798 had made a great progress, he deserted me altogether. I asked him the reason of it, and he told me as a secret, after having drunk a large quantity of port wine, that his Bishop desired him not to associate with Protestants."

* * *

The most prominent Catholic in Dublin associated with the movement for Catholic emancipation was John Keogh, a wealthy woollen merchant. He had publicly repudiated the Rebellion of 1798, and he was now a very old man. In these circumstances it was most unlikely that he would have associated himself with young Emmet's rash and hopeless enterprise. But he fell under the suspicion of the Executive, and accordingly his house was visited by the Yeomanry and his papers seized. The result is thus reported by the Lord Lieutenant to Charles Yorke, under date July 30, 1803:

"Marsden had much conversation with a man of the name of Keogh, a wealthy R.C. merchant of this City. His house was searched yesterday in common with almost every other in the town for arms, and his papers were also seized. He complained of this mark of distinction, which was owing to his having been connected with the last Rebellion with Emmet and others, but admitted that the Yeomen treated him with civility. The papers consisted of nothing but a correspondence with his three sons, one of whom is settled at Fribourg, another in Holland, and a third in Liverpool. He spoke very fully and with apparent openness to Marsden, declaring his positive belief that the Roman Catholics as a body had no knowledge or concern in the conspiracy, and admitting that in the general confusion and struggle all those who

possessed any property must of course sacrifice it with that of the Protestant gentlemen, drawing from thence an argument against the probability of their being so implicated. He did not consider the plot as formidable, and considers it as having been very unskilfully managed."

* * *

As to the attitude of the Catholic population in the West of Ireland, the Marquis of Sligo sent the following report in reply to a communication from Under-Secretary Marsden :

"WESTPORT HOUSE,
"*August 1st*, 1803.

"The late occurrence furnished us too fair an opportunity to leave us in the smallest doubt with respect to the publick mind of Ireland. Intended by the disaffected to feel the general pulse, by a small share of observation we could also avail ourselves of it. If the knowledge obtained produces attention to our wants, it may have been sent by Providence for our safety, and may rescue the Empire from destruction.

"All appears around us tranquil. The publick mind alone seems alive to our danger, and one ignorant of all but appearances would wonder from whence came such cause for apprehension. The unequivocal result of my observations is that in the event of a serious French invasion of Ireland the lower order of Catholicks would join the French, and that those possessing property of that persuasion will for a considerable time stand neuter, privately wishing it well, and ultimately joining to overturn the Establishment. All now is industry, and none seem anxious for disturbance. But my eyes are opened beyond being deceived. The priests in whom I confide agree in that opinion. They knew it before. I have only become acquainted with it from what has recently happened. The priests now are doing their duty. They have thundered curses against all who disturb the publick peace, or profess rebellious principles. But I have found out that but one chapel of this province had returned thanks for the Peace, and the priest who there officiated has been turned out of his parish by Dr. Dillon, titular Archbishop of Tuam, and one of the most daring and dangerous villains of his cloth.

" What alarms me most is that England is not enough aware of our situation, nor of what she has to expect herself from an invasion from this side, formed from the mass of the people of this country, as brave and more warlike and more disciplined than the people of England. Be assured this will be and must be the mode they will adopt for attacking Great Britain, and if ever she is subdued, it will be from Ireland. The French have only to land the men here ; they will be supplied with everything. Driving the coast is impracticable. Who could it be done by ? The Papists won't do it, and the only chance of the Protestants is by standing together to save and defend themselves. The mountains add to the difficulty of starving an enemy in Ireland. If I want my own sheep from hence, ten men would scarce collect them in a week. How can provisions be destroyed ? It would take a good army to dig a moderate potato-field, and when dug potatoes could not be easily rendered useless. Neither fire nor water would do them much injury.

" There did not appear to me to be any expectation here at all of the riot in Dublin ; and if there was concert among the disaffected I believe on that occasion those of these parts were in perfect ignorance. An emissary, the morning after the news, came here from Galway spreading reports of a meeting among the troops at Athlone and other alarms. He very narrowly escaped my hands. The same day, the rebel chiefs from Connemara crossed the Killery harbour (between Galway and Mayo) and came armed into the mountains of Mayo, which they had not ventured on for the last three years. They were not joined by followers, and shall be out of Mayo or in the jail of it before to-morrow night.

" But it is a shame that outlaws, murderers and traitors should be allowed to remain openly everywhere in the King's dominions unmolested. I understand Father Miles Prendergast has been sent by a subscription from the Bishops and priests to Rome ; but John Gibbons, junr., and Valentine Jordan, and two or three others whose names I could not spell or write, being Irish, still live openly in Connemara, and thus they could and should be driven from it.

" Col. Martin and Mr. Geoghegan are those who have most influence in those parts. Both of those gentlemen,

I believe, have Yeomen corps paid by the Crown. Was it intimated to their leaders that their corps should be put down if those outlaws were not secured or driven out of the district within a week? I have no doubt of the event. And is it right the King's pay should be continued to three or four hundred men, not capable of driving from their skirts half a dozen proclaimed outlaws and rebels? I beg not to be understood as speaking disrespectfully of anyone. Mr. Geoghegan I have known for many years, and I know him to be a worthy man. But delicacy to anyone is out of the question when the general good is endangered by it. These chiefs have not been joined by any followers. They will shoot three or four loyalists probably, and then go to their home again."

Davis Browne, M.P., brother to the Marquis of Sligo, writing to the Lord Lieutenant from Mount Browne, co. Mayo, under date August 13, 1803, says:

"I am happy to be now able to assure your Excellency, from sources of observation and information that cannot, I think, be mistaken, that this populous and extensive county is entirely free from all conspiracy, or concert of mischief, and that the great body of the people anxiously wish for peace."

He then goes on to tell a most curious story:

"I have felt so happy in having it in my power to give your Excellency these assurances of the state of this part of the kingdom, and at the prospect I think we have of security to all dear to us, that I had almost forgot the object of troubling you at present. It is to inform your Excellency that a most wicked attempt was lately made by some soldiers of the County of Limerick Militia, quartered at Ballinrobe, to disturb our tranquility.

"An account came to our Assizes at Castlebar that a conspiracy had been discovered in the neighbourhood of Ballinrobe to burn the barracks, massacre the officers and loyal inhabitants; that the rebels met in great force near that town, headed by a gentleman of the neighbourhood; that in consequence the Regiment had been out several nights and had taken up a number of people. This occasioned at Castlebar and through the county the most serious alarm, women and children preparing to leave, and great confusion every way was occasioned by it.

"I felt it my duty to repair directly to Ballinrobe, where, with other magistrates of the district, we inquired into this alarming business. There were fifteen persons in custody all charged with high treason. It appeared to be entirely void of any sort of foundation. The witnesses on whose depositions these proceedings had been taken, on close examination, acknowledged that they had fabricated the whole story for the hope of obtaining rewards from Government. To a mind moral and correct as your Excellency's it is unnecessary to dwell on the depravity of those wretches; but the publick danger from such is of great consequence. If such charges are believed and acted on, it leads the people to look to a foreign enemy for relief from oppression, and the Government as hostile to them. Such in every way misleads, for if from the frequency of false alarms we are led to doubt every information that is offered, real danger may arise, be overlooked, and be destructive.

"Your Excellency will determine what should be done in this business, and I shall feel confidently that you will decide wisely; but I am of opinion that a striking example should be made of those false witnesses; that they should be tried by a martial court, and punished as it shall direct."

On the other hand, I find in the handwriting of Lord Hardwicke the following account, marked "Secret and Confidential," of an interview the Bishop of Elphin had with him at the Castle as to the disposition of the Catholics in the West of Ireland:

"The Bishop of Elphin, who is one of the most shrewd and intelligent men in Ireland, makes a very unpleasant report of the present temper and views of the Roman Catholicks in the province of Connaught. When he first knew the country the disposition of the Roman Catholicks was favourable to monarchical government. The people were generally loyal and orderly, and if a sheep were stolen from a gentleman's demesne the priests were active in discovering the thief. At present they are entirely changed. Their disposition is republican, and their object to get possession of the country and to effect a separation from England. The Bishop asserts that he has had communications to this effect from more than one priest in the County of Roscommon, to whom he has

had opportunities of shewing acts of kindness. The tenor of these communications has been that no credit is to be given to any pretended exhortations to loyalty delivered in the Roman Catholick chapels; that they are intended as a blind; and that as soon as a French army of sufficient force to maintain themselves in the country shall effect a landing the people will universally rise.

"The Bishop has the worst opinion of the disposition of the Irish. He thinks that no dependence is to be placed in their professions or in their present appearances; that they will act the fox as long as it is necessary, and that whenever an opportunity offers the tiger will break loose. In answer to a question I put to him whether he was of opinion that the stipend which had been proposed for the Popish priests would so far connect them with the State as to answer the object, and induce them to preach different doctrines, he replied that the Popish clergy would not at the present moment accept of any stipend from the Government, as they conceive it would diminish their popularity with the people.

"I asked the Bishop of Elphin whether he did not consider the lower Irish as labouring under a grievance from the total want of any legal provision for the poor who are disabled from work either by age or sickness; and whether this might not operate to increase the discontent. He replied that he did not believe that had much effect; and in answering this question he made an observation which, after what he had before said of them, is entirely creditable to the Irish character, that the lower orders of people were very kind to their families and relations.

"I asked him what he considered to be the disposition of the Roman Catholick gentlemen of property. He said that some of those who were advanced in life were loyal and well disposed, but that their sons were to a certain degree more or less tainted with republican principles. That from the conduct of the three first Dukes in Europe it was impossible to argue that men would be deterred by personal interests from following the dictates of folly and passion. The conduct of the Duke of Orleans in France, the Duke of Leinster in Ireland, and the Duke of Norfolk in England, proved the fallacy of such reasoning. The latter, he understood, was to have the Garter, which, certainly, is better than a halter.

"The Bishop said he was very sorry to make such a report (which he did in great confidence), but he firmly believes it to be true, and that there is no remedy but a strong force."

Lord Redesdale, the Lord Chancellor, was also convinced that the Emmet insurrection was intended to be a religious war for the extirpation of the Protestants. He seems to have written to that effect to Lord Carleton, at this time, for he sends to the Viceroy the answer he received from that judge, as follows:

"I am truly thankful for your having given me the gratification of receiving your last letter. Until now I had not received any hint that the Roman Catholicks had, *as such*, taken any distinguished part in the Rebellion, except by one letter which stated to me some of the leading ideas of an oath of association which was said to have been administered in some parts of Ireland, and which were evidently Roman Catholick. But it having been surmised that the oath was fabricated by the Orangemen in order to discredit the Roman Catholicks, I know not how far its authenticity could be relied on to furnish any well-founded inference. However, you have had such ample opportunity of investigating the subject, and must be possessed of so extensive a fund of intelligence relating to it, that I have no scruple in giving my full assent to what you have stated; and I do so the more readily because your statement corresponds with what appeared to me to have probably been the case.

"The bigotry of Mr. Burke (who nearly thirty years ago began to stimulate the Roman Catholicks to demand the repeal of the Popery Laws in Ireland), the lax political and religious principles of Lord Melville, and the reluctance of the British Cabinet on some former occasions to submit to the trouble of thinking on the state of Ireland, and of fairly investigating the consequences likely to result from giving way to the demands of the Roman Catholicks, have led to that part of the difficulty of the present day which arises from the conduct and requisition of that body of men. I have long been most fully convinced that the restitution of the forfeited estates, the downfall of the Protestant religion,

and the substitution of the Popish religion in its place, were the objects to which the Roman Catholicks directed their steady attention. The equivocal expression of 'Catholic Emancipation' was used only to veil their real designs, and now even that disguise seems to have been laid aside, and their real objects to be avowed in a tone of threat and denunciation, calling on the people of the United Kingdom to determine whether they will relinquish the established religion of the State.

"A paper which was circulated on the resignation of Mr. Pitt and others of the Cabinet, intimating that 'the retiring Ministers were pledged to the Catholicks not to accept of office again, except on the terms of everything being ceded to that body of men,' has, I believe, greatly contributed to accelerate the extension and ripening of the mischief. It was said to have been sanctioned by Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh. Its tendency was highly mischievous, and its allegation of 'a pledge having been given to the Catholicks,' if referred to anything supposed to have passed whilst the Union depended, was, I believe, absolutely untrue. Those two Lords knew they were not authorized to enter into such a stipulation. The Papists' influence on the subject of the Union had not the weight of a feather, nor could have called for such a compact, which could not have been entered into without committing a gross breach of faith with the Protestants, the real supporters of the Union.

"Lord Cornwallis, certainly, wished to have ceded everything to the Catholicks, but he was aware that he was not at liberty to carry his wishes into execution; and Lord Castlereagh wished to keep the question completely open, until his loss of office touched his resentment, took from the natural coldness of his disposition, for a moment suspended his discretion, and induced him to give his sanction to a pledge, the futility of which his acceptance of office has demonstrated. However, the evil of the present day has been, I think, greatly enhanced by that injudicious publication; and the difficulties which Ireland has to struggle with receive great increase from the present conduct of the Catholicks, who now, for the first time, publicly avow their real object, and at the same time point out by the extent of their claims the impossibility of their being ceded to them."

* * *

One of the Catholic suspects was Dr. Hussey, the Bishop of Waterford.* He had just died, and the Irish Executive was most anxious to examine his papers. The strange story of how this purpose was effected is told in the following communications from Hardwicke to the Home Secretary:

"*Private.*

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*August 24th*, 1803.

"MY DEAR CHARLES,

"Amongst the persons whom it was intended to take up whenever the Habeas Corpus Act should be suspended in Ireland, after the breaking out of the War, Dr. Hussey, the late Roman Catholick Bishop of Waterford, was one of the most conspicuous. From the tenor of his pastoral letter, published, I think, at the beginning of the year 1797, and from everything that I had heard of his conduct, bigotry, and principles, I could not help feeling some degree of anxiety to secure his papers after his death, more especially as it was known that he had been in France, and had been reported that he had been

* Thomas Hussey, born in Ireland in 1741, was a very remarkable ecclesiastic. Early in his career as a priest he took service in the Court of Spain. In 1767 he was appointed chaplain to the Spanish Embassy in London. He became a Fellow of the Royal Society, and was a member of the famous literary circle of which Johnson was the centre. On the revolt of the American colonies Hussey was sent to Madrid by the Ministers of George III. to try to detach Spain from France, who took sides with the colonists. Through the influence of Portland and Pitt, he was sent to Ireland in 1794 as controller of Roman Catholic Military Chaplains, for the purpose of checking disaffection in the Irish regiments of the Line and the Militia. On the establishment of Maynooth College for the training of the Irish priesthood in 1795, he was appointed its first president, with the consent of the Government, and a year later was made Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. In 1797 he issued a pastoral letter to his clergy strongly in favour of Catholic emancipation, and urging that the British Government had no authority or right to exercise jurisdiction in the spiritual affairs of Roman Catholics. So strong was the feeling aroused in Government circles by the pastoral that Hussey left Ireland, with the permission of the Pope, in 1798. While in Paris he took part in the negotiations between Pope Pius VII. and Napoleon which led to the establishment of the *Concordat*. He died from a fit while bathing in the sea at Tramore, near Waterford, on July 11, 1803, and was buried in the Roman Catholic Cathedral, Waterford.

employed by Buonaparte in settling with the Pope the Concordat for the re-establishment of the Roman Catholick religion in France.

"I therefore desired Mr. Marsden to write to Brigadier-General Meyrick upon the subject, and after ascertaining who was Dr. Hussey's executor, to endeavour to secure his papers. General Meyrick has effected the object, without any violent seizure of papers; and though there are some circumstances that are rather curious, yet they do not afford any proofs of Dr. Hussey having been engaged in any treasonable conspiracy."

In this letter the Lord Lieutenant enclosed a copy of the report received by Marsden from General Meyrick. It is as follows:

"*Private.*

"WATERFORD,
"*14th August*, 1803.

"DEAR SIR,

"I had the honour of writing to you on the second in reply to your letter of the first inst. respecting the late Doctor Hussey. I thought the first point to ascertain was in whose charge the papers then were; and, secondly, whether they had been examined, and by whom, since his death. In making this inquiry much precaution was necessary, and this has been the cause of my not sooner acquainting you with the result.

"Having learned that the papers were in the possession of Mr. Quin, a Roman Catholick merchant, and that a few only of them had been examined, I determined to request I might be allowed to inspect them. Being aware that this would be an invidious task in the eyes of a number of people here, if it was conceived that I was actuated by any suspicion of the late Doctor's loyalty, I availed myself of a very prevalent opinion that he was confidentially employed by Government, particularly by the Duke of Portland, and that he was in the habit of correspondence with the Duke, when Secretary of State, respecting the affairs of this country. I therefore said to Mr. Quin that 'he no doubt was apprized that there had been a correspondence between Government and the late Doctor Hussey.' He replied 'that he had heard so, but that he believed all intercourse of that nature had ceased for some time.' I replied 'that the

period of the correspondence made no difference, and that I had reason to think (if not destroyed) letters highly important to be kept secret would be found amongst his papers.'

"After some further conversation of an immaterial nature, I went with Mr. Quin, and the titular Dean Hearn, to the late Doctor Hussey's house, and searched every desk and trunk I could find, and examined every paper. Most of the letters were of a private nature; a good many from the late Edmund Burke, one from a priest of the name of Charles O'Connor, written from Storne soon after the Doctor's famous pastoral letter, in which he extols the principles and doctrines of the above pastoral, and applauds the Rev. Doctor for leaving the country, adding 'as it will serve to convince our gentry that a Bishop has the courage to speak the truth, and at the same time will convince them by doing so he is subject to persecution and forced to fly the country.' I should have taken this letter but that I thought it would destroy the excuse I had framed for searching the papers. I therefore brought away the two letters, enclosed herewith, from the Duke of Portland. I am extremely glad the one marked No. 7 was found, as it seemed completely to convince both Dean Hearn and Mr. Quin that I had full grounds for the suspicions I professed.

"I have not been able to trace anything sufficiently against Luke Murphy to make it advisable to take him up. An English gentleman who lives next door to him at Dunmore has promised to watch him closely, and to give me notice in case in remarks anything suspicious."

* * *

At any rate, the leading Catholic gentry and prelates presented to the Viceroy an address expressing their utmost horror of "the late atrocious proceedings," and their most devoted and loyal attachment to the King. They said that it was "to the free and unbiassed determination of the Legislature" they alone looked for the realization of their ardent desire to participate in the full enjoyment of the benefits of the British Constitution. That address is the subject of the following official letter from the Lord Lieutenant to the Home Secretary:

"*Confidential.*

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*August 24th*, 1803.

"SIR,

"It is my duty to acquaint you for his Majesty's information that I have received three addresses from the Roman Catholicks of Ireland, in which they desire me to convey to his Majesty their humble assurances of attachment to his Majesty's royal person, family, and Government, and their determination to stand or fall in the common exertion which is called for in the present crisis.

"The first address, which originated in Dublin, was intended to be general, and was sent to the principal cities and towns for the purpose of receiving signatures. But in consequence of a paragraph having been inserted containing the following words, 'We beg to reiterate to your Excellency the assurances of attachment which we have so often expressed to our most gracious Sovereign, and to the Constitution of this Realm; and think ourselves called on, at the present moment, to declare that however ardent our wish may be to participate in the full enjoyment of the benefits of that Constitution, the excellence of which, in common with our fellow-countrymen of every description, we so fully admire, we never can be brought to seek for such participation through any other medium than that of the free and unbiassed determination of the Legislature,' a difference of opinion arose as to the propriety of introducing any reference to what is called the Roman Catholic question at the present moment. The consequence has been that several Roman Catholicks declined adding their signatures to the intended general address, and that the Roman Catholick inhabitants of Waterford and Kilkenny have sent up separate addresses expressive of their loyalty to the King, and their determination to unite in the common cause, but omitting any allusion to the object of the Roman Catholick laity of being permitted to hold offices and to sit in Parliament.

"The general address was presented by a deputation of twelve, consisting of Lords Fingall, and Gormanstown, Mr. McDonnell, Mr. Connolly, Mr. Val O'Connor, and other Roman Catholic merchants of this city, with some gentlemen of the Bar, and Drs. Reilly and Troy, the titular Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin.

"I conceive the circumstances which I have stated will

be considered as sufficiently important to justify me in a departure from the usual course of communicating such addresses only as are immediately intended to be transmitted to his Majesty."

The Viceroy's reply to the Catholic deputation was couched in the customary official terms. How pleased he was to receive this gratifying declaration of the attachment of the Irish Catholics to the Throne and Constitution! But the real views of his Excellency on the subject are no doubt better expressed in the following letter written by him to his brother:

"It is suspected by some persons whose letters I have seen that Buonaparte has assured the Roman Catholics that if they will undertake to aid him to conquer Ireland, he shall establish a Roman Government, and it is thought not improbable that he has made the Pope give his sanction to the measure. I think Dr. Troy's pastoral letter to the popish clergy of the Archdiocese of Dublin* is the greatest piece of craft, dissimulation, and hypocrisy that I ever read. It has the appearance of having been written some time, and of being well weighed and considered. Nobody can give the least credit to his total ignorance of the conspiracy. The students of Maynooth are, I fear, among the disaffected. That seminary will excite much indignation, and I think it will bear a question whether the priests would not be more civilized by a foreign education.† But this is, of course, private."

* * *

Chief Secretary Wickham imparts his views of the Insurrection in the following "private and confidential" communication to Pole Carew of the Home Office:

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*27th August*, 1803.

"DEAR SIR,

"I send you inclosed by the Lord Lieutenant's direction, for Mr. Yorke's information, copy of some intelligence that has been received from a person in the

* A pastoral denouncing the insurgents in unmeasured terms.

† Before the establishment of Maynooth College, in 1795, the Irish priests were trained in Roman Catholic colleges on the Continent. Maynooth was subsidized by the Government on the ground that a home training would obviate the danger of the priesthood imbibing Jacobin and revolutionary ideas abroad.

North giving (among other things) an account of the present mode by which the Rebels communicate with each other. The whole system is evidently inferior to that which was adopted, and carried to such perfection by Lord Edward FitzGerald, Tone, McNevin, Emmet, and their accomplices. It is ill calculated for giving effect to anything but a tumultuous rising, and carries with it a convincing proof that there is a general want of leaders among the disaffected throughout the whole country.

"The Lord Lieutenant and the Chancellor are both convinced that on the late occasion there existed no general organized system of insurrection, and that the confidence of the persons who planned it rested on the efforts of individuals directed to particular points, and on an exaggerated opinion of the courage and confidence of the people at large, and of their willingness to engage again in open rebellion whenever the standard should be raised.

"That no material change has been wrought in the opinions and temper of the lower orders of the people, except in the North, is very manifest, but it is, I think, equally so, that the Rebellion has acquired no new converts, and that many who were engaged in it before of the middle classes are now most unwilling to take a part in any new project. I think every day furnishes new proof of the truth of what I am saying; and I am very much mistaken, indeed, if that point be not most satisfactorily made out to the conviction of every reasonable mind before the meeting of Parliament.

"If the Lord Lieutenant is not mistaken in this view of the subject, the measure that his Excellency is adopting of endeavouring to secure and detain all the remaining leaders of the disaffected seems obviously pointed out to us as that which is most likely, if not to reduce the numbers of the disaffected in the country, at least to render insurrection partial and tumultuary, which is all that we can hope for some years to come.

"You will, no doubt, have read frequent accounts of sentinels fired on at their posts, and suchlike alarming accounts, and perhaps Mr. Yorke may have been surprised that no report on the subject has reached his office. I have much satisfaction in assuring you that *not a single instance* of a sentinel having been attacked or fired upon has occurred since the 23rd ulto., nor to my knowledge has there been a single murther committed; and but one

attempt to murther (except the attack on the mail coach at Naas) since that day.

"You will probably ask, why then are all the precautions taken, about which we are now so much occupied? To which the Lord Lieutenant will answer that they are intended, not only to reduce as much as possible the power of doing mischief at a more favourable opportunity—I mean should the enemy effect a landing; but to give spirit and confidence to the loyal, and to augment their numbers by convincing the timid that they may safely join the standard of loyalty.

"We must give the enemy no breathing time. Every day will produce new discoveries, and, I hope, give new reason to the disaffected to mistrust each other. These advantages must be followed up throughout Ireland. The fugitives must be pursued into every corner, rewards offered for apprehending them whenever they escape; so that the leaders, if not taken, shall find nowhere any resting-place. Insurrection, wherever it shews itself, must be instantly beat down and most severely punished by military execution; and above all things those who harbor traitors and facilitate their escape must be most severely punished. Let this system be but steadily and unremittingly pursued for twelve months, and large rewards and open protection and encouragement to all who shall discover and apprehend known traitors, and I think Lord Hardwicke may safely answer for the peace of Ireland for some years to come against all attempts to disturb it by the leaders of the late Rebellion or their abettors and successors.

"Into what new parties this unfortunate country may be divided, or what new pretexts may be found by ambitious men of a new cast who will probably soon start up, for working on the restless and discontented spirit of the people, I cannot presume to foresee. I speak only of the old Union, as it is called, which I persist in thinking may by steady and determined conduct be rendered no longer formidable to the peace and security of the country. I should not, however, be surprised if the measures now adopted should render the leaders desperate, and force them to make some partial attempts at insurrection.

"You will observe that all I have written supposes that we are not to be disturbed by foreign invasion. Such an event would certainly retard our progress; but

if not ultimately successful would perhaps do us in the event more real service than harm.

"I have the honour to be, with great regard, dear Sir,

"Most faithfully yours,

"WM. WICKHAM."*

* * *

A strange story, showing how the Irish Executive was imposed upon in this time of stress and difficulty, is told in another despatch from Chief Secretary Wickham to the Home Office:

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"28 *August*, 1803.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"In my letter of the 25th instant I gave you a hasty account of some persons having been arrested at Dundalk. By the Lord Lieutenant's directions I now communicate to you, for Mr. Yorke's information, the following particulars:

"A person of the name of Houlton, who was formerly in the Navy, but is now a notorious smuggler, and strongly suspected of having been implicated in the Insurrection of the 23rd ulto., as well as in the last Rebellion, gave some information here of several disaffected persons at Dundalk and Belfast, who were to have assisted the people from Howth in an attack on the Pidgeon House,† to be made in wherries, from Dublin Harbour. His character was well known, and the suspicions entertained against him were considered to be well founded; but as there was no proof of his guilt it was thought advisable to accept an offer that he made to go down to the North and procure information of the designs of the disaffected at Dundalk and Belfast.

"He returned from Belfast in about a week, and brought with him so strange a story that no credit would have been given to it, but for the readiness with which he offered to give a letter of recommendation to the persons whom he had seen in the North in favour of any confidential person that Government would send down there. This offer was accepted, and a person sent down to Dundalk who was received with open arms by the individuals to whom he was addressed. He was carried

* From "Ireland, Private and Secret," 1803.—*Home Office Papers.*

† A fort in which munitions of war were stored, on the river Liffey, below Dublin.

from house to house (chiefly among the lower orders), and was proceeding in his visit when he was arrested as a suspicious person (together with one Bernard Haley, who was accompanying him) by Mr. Straton, Lord Roden's brother-in-law, who knew Haley to be an old rebel.

"This was a most unfortunate circumstance, as upon a crowd of people getting together to see the prisoners, a Yeoman recognised the person we had sent down, and claimed him so openly that there was no hope afterwards of re-establishing his credit with the disaffected, to the chief of whom he was to have been introduced that night.

"He was with them, however, time enough to ascertain a fact stated by Houlton, that a soldier of the 67th regiment was engaged in the plot. Houlton sent this man a piece of green cloth. The house of a taylor of suspicious character having been searched, a green uniform was found in it, and on the taylor being taken into custody he declared that he had made it for a soldier of the 67th, who was identified, and proved to be the very man to whom Houlton had sent the green cloth.

"But tho' everything that Houlton had stated with respect to Dundalk proved to be correct, so far as our inquiries went, there is reason to believe that there was not a word of truth in his information respecting Belfast; and with respect to Dundalk it seems nearly certain that he himself had given the plan into which the people there so largely entered. I am inclined to hope and believe that few, if any, of the soldiers of the 67th regiment had been corrupted, except the man I have mentioned.

"It is not the less true, tho' the persons arrested are of the lowest orders, that positive assurance was given to the man that we sent down that he would be introduced that night to persons of a superior description; and that whether Houlton was the contriver of the plot or no, he had found at Dundalk a number of persons ready to second him.

"The Lord Lieutenant will direct such proceedings against the persons in custody as the law servants of the Crown shall advise; and should anything material occur in the course of a further investigation of the business, you shall not fail to hear from me.

"Believe me to be, my dear Sir, most faithfully yours,

"WM. WICKHAM.*

"REGINALD POLE CAREW, ESQ.

* From Home Office Papers

CHAPTER IV

ROBERT EMMET AND SARAH CURRAN

MEANWHILE, the information obtained by the Executive convinced them that the chief organizer of the conspiracy was Robert Emmet, and their agents were most vigilant and active in their endeavours to track down the young insurgent. One day a body of Yeomen surrounded Emmet's house in Butterfield Lane. They demanded of Anne Devlin to tell them all she knew about " Mr. Ellis." " I know nothing about him ; I'm only a servant," she replied. They swore at her that she lied, which, though brutally said, was the truth. But not content with that, they dragged her into the yard, backed her against the wall with their bayonets, and stabbed her until the blood flowed, vowing that they would kill her if she did not tell them where Robert Emmet was hiding. " I'll tell you nothing," she answered. Then they put a rope round her neck, tilted up a cart, and, passing the halter over the cross-belt of the shafts, pulled until the girl was lifted from her feet. But not even the imminence of death by strangulation could shake the constancy and devotion of this humble servant-girl to the young master. She fell unconscious to the ground, and was hustled off to Kilmainham Prison.

The house of every relative and friend of Emmet in Dublin was searched. Here is a letter from Lady Anne FitzGerald to the Lord Lieutenant :

"GLOUCESTER STREET,
"*July 29th*, 1803.

"MY LORD,

"I hope your Excellency will pardon the liberty of this letter. But finding that some persons have thought proper to say that I am aunt to the unfortunate Lord Edward FitzGerald, and think in consequence I would harbour Mr. Robert Emmet, so, of course, they twice searched my house and garden yesterday. Nothing certainly could be more polite than the Yeomen were. But your Excellency may easily conceive how dreadfully my feelings must be wounded at any person suspecting that I, who am all loyalty, should be capable of harbouring any traitor. No, my Lord, were he my nearest and dearest relative, and capable of such conduct, he should not find refuge in my house.

"I beg leave to mention to your Excellency that I am sister to the present Earl of Kerry, who had, I believe, the honour of being known to your Excellency, and widow of the late Maurice FitzGerald, Knight of Kerry, both well known to be strictly loyal subjects.

"My servants inform me that some deal sticks, which I had for my flowers, were taken away, lest they might be used as pike handles. If they will look over my garden they will find hundreds of the same affixed to different flowers. I mention this only for fear that your Excellency should hear that any pike handles were found.

"From all that I can judge by the conduct of my servants, they are really sober, and in every respect well conducted. They all know my sentiments of loyalty, but as in these times there is no being certain of anything, I should be very happy if your Excellency should think it proper to order a couple of well-conducted soldiers to guard my house, for as an unprotected old woman I cannot help feeling most acutely that any suspicion should fall on my house.

"Permit me to subscribe myself, your Excellency's most obedient, very humble servant,

"ANNE FITZGERALD."

As an immediate answer to this communication was not returned by the Viceroy, the lady was moved to have handbills printed and distributed publicly, declaring her loyalty, and her descent—though she was not the

aunt of Lord Edward FitzGerald—from an ancient Irish family. "She is incapable," she says, "of suffering her house, carriage, or servants to give protection and shelter to Mr. Robert Emmet, or any other traitor to his King and country." A copy of this handbill she sent to Mr. Latouche, a well-known Dublin banker, with an interesting letter in which she explains the incident that gave rise to the story that Robert Emmet had escaped from Dublin in her carriage. These communications were forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant by Mr. Latouche. Here is the lady's letter:

"GLOUCESTER STREET,
"*July 31st*, 1803.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"The many ridiculous stories that I hear has been propagated respecting the search made at my house on Thursday for Mr. Robert Emmet, and the not having had any notice taken of the letter I wrote to the Lord Lieutenant, and sent by the Knight, has so wounded my feelings that I could no longer resist from publicly avowing my principles of loyalty, and making it known from whom I am descended, for though certainly my rank is not so high as some have since Thursday been pleased to raise it, yet as I have ever been foolishly proud of being of the House of Lixnaw, I do not at present wish to forfeit my title to it.

"The search I thought nothing of, because it is highly proper that every exertion should be made to find out so vile a traitor; but I own I think when that was twice, indeed I may say, thrice, made in the most minute manner, even to the searching the clock; and that my servants took their oaths that no man had been in my carriage that day, but that unluckily my footman, having had dreadfully sore eyes, and the dust very great, thought that as it was only an old carriage the coachmaker had lent me, he might shelter himself in it, and draw up the side blinds that he might not be seen, as he knew how angry I should be if he went into it, as had once before happened with my own carriage, and I then declared that if ever he did it again I would turn him off.

"What I suppose made them suspect anything of the kind was my having requested of Mrs. Spring, on my

hearing that Mr. Holmes was taken up, to take the carriage, and go to Mrs. Temple's lodgings in Dawson Street, and ask if they had heard anything of it.* I know there can be no one whatever more loyal than Mrs. Temple, and her late husband paid dearly for his loyalty in America, as he lost his fine estate there, and Government, in consideration of it, gave a small pension to his widow and daughters. I mention this to show that I could not suppose there was any harm in my carriage going there, and as I had reason to think that Mr. Holmes reprobated the former Rebellion I could not help being shocked.

"I shall never deny the regard I ever had for Doctor Emmet. I owe him my life, and I am convinced he never knew till long after his son Tom was taken up that he had gone the lengths he did. He in the most solemn manner declared so to me, and, in truth, condemned it. I never saw Mr. Tom Emmet since he was taken up, nor Mr. Robert since two days after the poor Doctor's death, when I went to see his poor wretched mother. And surely I who can never forget my own sad loss must feel for anyone in a similar situation, and perhaps with greater aggravation, for, alas! her sons, instead of blessings, as they might have been, have by their conduct made themselves incapable of being so, and must assuredly bring shame to her.

"My servants do not even know Mr. Robert Emmet, as they assure me. I am told it has been reported that Alderman Carleton said I had told him that both Mr. Tom and Mr. Robert Emmet had dined with me a few days before the search. At first I did not mind his saying so to my servants, as it might have been done to try to get them to own if they knew anything of him; but I really think that the Alderman should have taken care that that falsehood should not be propagated. No one, even if my rank was as high as they chose to make it, is above censure. Nor has age so blunted my feelings as to make me careless, because I know my innocence, of what is said. This business has shattered me more than had it not happened I am certain ten years taken from my life could have done.

* Robert Holmes, barrister-at-law, who was married to Emmet's sister, was arrested on suspicion of complicity in the Insurrection, but was released without having been brought to trial. The Temples also were relatives of Emmet.

"The enclosed I had hoped would have been early enough at the printer's to have appeared in last night's *Evening Post*; but as it was not I have had these struck off. May I request you will show one of them to the Lord Lieutenant, in hopes that this publick avowal of my principles (which will most assuredly make me a marked victim to the Rebels) will convince his Excellency that both me and all my House are what we ought to be, as, I fear, from not hearing from the Castle, my letter did not.

"I have many apologies to make to you for this long scroll, but I have had so many proofs of your friendship that I think you will pardon it, and compassionate my feelings, which has actually deprived me almost of the power of holding my pen. I shall hope to hear that Mrs. Latouche's cold is better, and beg that you will ever believe me to be, dear Sir, your much obliged and most sincere friend,

"ANNE FITZGERALD.

"I much fear you can't make out this, but my agitation is so great I can't write to be read.

"I beg leave to mention to you that the sticks I had for tying hollyhocks and lillies to have been reported to be pike handles."

* * *

It was not until August 25 that the Lord Lieutenant was able to announce to the Home Secretary the arrest of "young Emmet." The insurgent leader was captured that evening in a house at Harold's Cross, a suburb of Dublin. The Viceroy adds:

"There is every reason to believe that he was deeply implicated in the affair of the 23rd ultimo, but I confess I had imagined that he had escaped. His having remained here looks as if he had been in expectation of a further attempt."

Here the glamour of a romantic love episode is flung around the story of the Insurrection. It was as a lover, not as a rebel, that Robert Emmet lingered in Dublin, while the sleuth-hounds of the outraged law were eagerly searching to run him down. On the Monday night

after the Insurrection the insurgent and his companions fled from the house in Butterfield Lane to the Dublin mountains. Anne Devlin, going up there a few days later with letters, found Emmet, still in his uniform of green and gold and white, sitting outside a cabin. The patriot's trappings were soiled and bedraggled. But his pride in them was dead for another reason. Being unable to procure a change to everyday attire, he was tied to the Dublin hills, while he pined to go back to the city to see his sweetheart. Sarah Curran was her name. She was the youngest daughter of John Philpot Curran, the famous advocate, who had defended, with amazing skill and devotion, the leaders of the Rebellion of 1798, brought to trial before the ordinary legal tribunals. A sweet shy young girl is Sarah Curran, as we see her in Romney's portrait. Silky hair ripples over her white forehead. The gleam in her dark eyes—the glowing eyes of her witty and eloquent father—show that, like her lover, she was a dreamer and enthusiast, and though the curling lips are parted by a smile, the predominant expression of the face is sad. She was then only twenty-one years old.

Early in August Robert Emmet effected a partial change of his dress. He was able to cast aside the cocked hat with white feathers, and the green and gold jacket; but he had still to retain the white waistcoat and pantaloons and the Hessian boots. In this attire, half military and half civilian, he returned to Harold's Cross, on the outskirts of Dublin, and lodged with a poor widow named Palmer, an old retainer of the Emmet family. The house was on the highroad between the Priory, the residence of John Philpot Curran, at Rathfarnham, and the city. Emmet arranged a meeting with Sarah Curran. He told her that he proposed, when the pursuit slackened, to endeavour to quit the country for America. But that was not to be. The authorities received information that a young man, possibly Emmet, was in hiding at Mrs. Palmer's, Harold's Cross. The chief of the police, Major Sirr, rode out there at mid-

day on August 25, attended by a soldier, and, entering the house, found the young man just about to sit down to dinner. "What's your name?" asked the police officer. "Cunningham," was the reply. "How long have you been here?" "I came only this morning." Sirr then sought Mrs. Palmer, and was told by her that the lodger's name was Hewitt, and that he had been with her for several weeks. During the interview with the landlady Sirr heard the noise of a scuffle at the back of the house, and, hastening out, saw the young man running off. Sirr ordered the sentinel to fire, and then gave chase himself, regardless of the command. "The guard's piece," says the Viceroy in a circumstantial report of the arrest to the Home Secretary, "fortunately missed fire, or it would have shot Major Sirr, who was close to Emmet at the time." The police officer captured the runaway, and handcuffed him, expressing concern that it was necessary to employ measures so rough. "All's fair in war," was the young man's reply. Brought to Dublin Castle, the prisoner admitted that he was Robert Emmet. He was committed to Kilmainham Gaol on the charge of high treason.

* * *

Wickham, the Chief Secretary, was away from Dublin during the stirring events of July. He lay ill at his house at Norwich. But on the 31st of the month he wrote to Marsden from London, stating his intention to proceed to Ireland as soon as possible. In a letter to the Lord Lieutenant on the eve of his departure from London he writes:

"I wish you would say a word in the newspapers announcing my arrival *with my family*, to show that we are not afraid, and accounting for my absence, such as that I had been confined for three weeks, and unable to attend to my duty in Parliament."

He was now installed in Dublin Castle, and to him we are indebted for several of the most interesting communications in the secret papers of the Home Office which

deal with the Emmet Insurrection. He sends to the Home Office, on August 28, the following extract from the depositions of Mrs. Ann Palmer, the lodging-house keeper at Harold's Cross :

" About four weeks ago Robert Emmet took a lodging in her house, and remained there until he was arrested by Major Sirr. On his coming to the house he was dressed in white cashmere waistcoat and breeches, and a black stock and boots. He told her that he had lately a very handsome uniform coat with a handsome epaulette, but the coat he wore on coming to her house, and which he continued to wear there, was a brown coat. The name he assumed was Hewitt, and every person who called to see him inquired for him as Mr. Hewitt. When she directed her son to make out a list of the inhabitants of the house, to post on the door, as the Insurrection Act directed, Emmet requested her to omit his name, as he intended to stay in the house but a day or two. He also told her that he was concealing himself on account of the troubles ; and that in case of any alarm at the front-door of the house he would escape out of a back window, and hide himself in a corn-field at the rear. He told her that the killing of Lord Kilwarden had shocked his heart ; that he had left Thomas Street before it occurred ; and that anyone that saw the Rebel Proclamation knew there was an order in it against such crimes. The only thing she heard Emmet lament, relative of the Rebellion, was the death of Lord Kilwarden. She had often seen him write. He was in the habit of writing different hands, sometimes larger and sometimes smaller."*

Wickham's letter to Pole Carew, secretary to Charles Yorke, forwarding Mrs. Palmer's testimony, is as follows:

" *Secret and Confidential.*

" DUBLIN CASTLE,
" *28 August*, 1803.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" I send you enclosed copies of the two depositions that affect Emmet the most materially. Mrs. Palmer was owner of the house in which Emmet was

* From Home Office Papers, labelled, " Ireland, Private and Secret, 1803."

taken—the other deponent is her son. This information was not obtained until the close of a very able and judicious examination of these two persons, which lasted from twelve at noon till past six. It was conducted by the Attorney-General, in presence of the Chancellor, myself, and Mr. Marsden.

"Mr. Yorke will observe that Mrs. Palmer says that Emmet wrote several different hands. This is unfortunately too true; and if the prosecution against him should fail, it will probably be owing to his act in changing frequently his manner of writing. We cannot, I fear, convict him without producing *as his handwriting* different papers written *apparently* by different persons.

"Those who know his handwriting in better days cannot say that they believe the papers of which we are in possession to be written by him. He was very much beloved in private life, so that all the friends of his family, even those who abhored his treasons, will be glad of any pretext to avoid appearing against him, and we shall be left, I fear, to accomplices in his own guilt, who will give most reluctant testimony against the man who was considered as the chief of the conspiracy.

"The only evidence that could at present be *produced* against him is what follows:

"1. The original draft of the printed proclamation found *in his handwriting* in a bureau, in which bureau was also found a letter signed Thos. Addis Emmet, written from abroad, directed to Mrs. Emmet, but beginning 'My dear Robert,' and from the context evidently addressed to Robert Emmet. This bureau was found in the great depot of arms in Bridge-foot Lane.*

"2. An unfinished draft of a letter, of which I send a copy enclosed, found in the room where he was taken, in the same handwriting as the draft of the Proclamation. The writer of this letter avows himself to be a rebel.

"3. Letters found in the same bureau with the draft of the Proclamation, *evidently* written by him, but in a different handwriting from that which he used when writing the two last-mentioned papers. These letters could unquestionably fix upon him the possession of the bureau, but on account of the dissimilarity of the hand-

* This is Marshalsea Lane. It was sometimes called Bridge-foot Lane.

writing it will probably be thought most prudent not to produce them.

"4. A letter found upon him, copy of which I send enclosed, which clearly proves him to have been one of a party engaged in a conspiracy against the State.

"5. The circumstances of his flight, his concealment, his dress (military all except the coat), and his attempt to escape when apprehended.

"6. The evidence of the two Palmers. The question of bringing forward secret information has been well considered and discussed, and there is but one opinion on the subject—viz., that it were a thousand times better that Emmet should escape than that we should close for ever a most accurate source of information.

"7. A material cypher, copy of which I enclose, found also in the bureau, addressed to R. E.

"I am sorry to have to add that there is strong reason to believe that a young man, most respectably connected, of the name of Patten, nephew of Mr. Colville, the late Governor of the Bank, is deeply implicated with Emmet. He is in custody, having been committed for refusing to answer questions respecting his knowledge of the place of Emmet's concealment.

"A man of the name of Farrell, who was in the depot, and whose examination I also inclose, refuses to identify Emmet.

"The above are the strong points of the case against Emmet, *as it now stands*. There are others of apparently less moment that may, by possibility, produce still stronger and more direct evidence than any of which we are now in direct possession. I shall receive the Lord Lieutenant's commands to write to you on that part of the case from time to time, as we shall make any effective progress in our inquiries. Emmet was certainly the proprietor of the depot, and lived there occasionally for some time before the breaking out of the Insurrection.

"It will not escape Mr. Yorke's observation that the information we have received of the refusal of the people to act on the late occasion, and of the difference of opinion with respect to the time of rising, is confirmed by the letter found upon Emmet. The expressions used, as coming from a person evidently of consideration among the disaffected, are very striking. 'The people are incapable of redress and unworthy of it. This opinion

he is confirmed in by the late transaction, which he thinks must have succeeded, *but for their barbarous desertion and want of unanimity.*'

" It is a melancholy thing that on such an occasion as this the Government should receive no assistance whatever from the Police. Indeed, nothing can be in a more deplorable state than it is now in. The whole is become a job supported at an enormous expense to the public, and rendering less service than is derived from Mr. Justice Bell, and two or three more trading Justices to whom Government of necessity is obliged to have recourse. The Lord Lieutenant will probably recommend an application to Parliament next year for the purpose of establishing a totally new system, similar, as far as local circumstances will admit, to the plan now existing in Westminster. It will meet with opposition from the Corporation of Dublin, but from the Corporation only. In the meantime a system has been established here which is already working well, which is generally approved, by none more than the Corporation, and is already found to be of material service. I mean the plan for dividing the City of Dublin into districts, a copy of which has already been transmitted to Mr. Yorke. I now transmit for his information, by the Lord Lieutenant's directions, a copy of the instructions under which the gentlemen act who have undertaken this duty. They are incorrectly printed, particularly towards the end.

" It is from Dublin and the County of Kildare that all the mischief proceeds and spreads itself all over Ireland. It is there that it must be attacked, and I trust extirpated. I trust there will be no question of local privileges, when not only the preservation of the lives and properties of the inhabitants of a great city, but the peace and security of all Ireland, and in some measure of the whole United Kingdom, depend on the good government of this particular place from which I write. For without Dublin even Kildare would cease to be formidable.

" My dear Sir, most faithfully yours,

" Wm. Wickham.

" P.S.—If Mr. Yorke or yourself should see the Chancellor or the Attorney-General, the Lord Lieutenant wishes that the above statement of the evidence against Emmet, as it now stands, should be communicated to them. It is possible that the Chancellor, whose services

at this moment are invaluable to the Government, may have written to them on the subject.

"P.S.—A material fact against Emmet is his having desired that even his assumed name of Hewitt should not be inserted in the list of persons inhabiting Mrs. Palmer's house, which, under the provisions of the Insurrection Act, she was obliged to affix to her door. We are, besides, in possession of the list, in which Emmet's name is omitted."*

* * *

Emmet retained for his defence John Philpot Curran, the ablest advocate of the day, and the father of his sweetheart. Curran was an intimate friend of the Emmet family, and knew Robert well; but he was absolutely ignorant of the relations between his daughter and the plotter and leader of the late Insurrection. The news came to him in a dramatic manner, and with crushing effect.

The letters which, as Wickham says, were found in Emmet's possession when arrested were in a lady's handwriting. As they showed that the writer was in the closest confidence of Emmet, the Executive were most anxious to discover her identity, but all their investigations to that end were baffled until an extraordinary act of indiscretion on the part of Emmet revealed her as Sarah Curran. The letters, the originals of which are deposited in the Home Office Papers, "Ireland, Private and Secret, 1803," are as follows:

No. 1.

"I have been intending these many days past to write you a few lines, but was really incapable of conveying anything like consolation, and altho' I felt that there might have been a momentary gratification in hearing from me, I feared that the communication of my feeling would only serve to irritate and embitter your own. Besides this, I felt a degree of reluctance to writing which,

* From "Ireland, Private and Secret, 1803."—*Home Office Papers.*

after what has passed, may be rather inconsistent, but which is increased by considering the extent of the risque I run, as well as by the breach of propriety it occasions.

"I do not know whether to consider it as a circumstance of congratulation, or rather an aggravation of my unhappiness, that I cannot apply to myself the proverb which says that the first step alone costs us anything; but I can say with truth, whether the acuteness of my feelings be fruitlessly afflicting, or ultimately salutary in their effects, that hitherto with me every subsequent departure from duty has been attended with that self-reproach which is generally attached to the first breach of it. These sentiments alone interrupt the satisfaction I feel in sharing every anxiety with you, and of preserving to you, in spite of other mischances and disappointments, the consolation of a friend.

"And such is the perfect confidence that I feel subsists between us that I have no fear of misconstruction on your part of any uneasiness I feel. On the contrary, I know you share it, and cannot think it blameable. At all events, I wish you to know me exactly as I am. I cannot bear to conceal anything from you; and at some future time, perhaps, when your opinion of me should be more influenced by judgement than any partial feeling, I should wish you to recollect that the violation of promise or duty brought most abundantly with it its punishment; and that at a time even when I was sunk by disappointment, without hope or future prospect of comfort, I almost shrunk from availing myself of the only consolation which still remained, altho' the one I prized above every other—that of sympathising with you, and endeavouring to atone for what you had lost. After all, in looking forward to any circumstance that might ultimately unite us, should we not, like the rest of the world, judge by the event; and those sentiments which I am now forced to consider as a perverse inclination, not fed by any rational hope but rather strengthened by disappointment, I should then hold forth to myself as the triumph of resolution and constancy over temporary disaster and opposition.

"I am afraid you heard no very gratifying account by the last express of my *health* and *spirits*. I was so certain of hearing from you early in the day, as she had

promised, that I concluded the poor greyhound was lost, or, still worse, might have been found. Altho' I may laugh now, I assure you I then feared the worst, and was never more unhappy. I shall never forget the sensation of agony I felt while reading your letter. I assure you that my head suddenly felt as if it was burning, and for a few minutes I think I was in a fever. As for your letter, I did not understand it at the time, and had only a confused idea that you must leave the country *for ever*, as your mother wished it. You must therefore attribute to *mental* derangement my wish of seeing you at present. Do not think of it, unless it might be done with safety, which I think impossible At any rate, in the present circumstances, is it not wiser to limit myself to the gratification of knowing you are well and safe ?

" I should wish particularly to know from you how matters stand at present (if you would not be afraid) ; particularly what are your hopes from abroad and what you think they mean to do, and whether if they pay us a visit we shall not be worse off than before. ——* (which I hope you understand) *is not*, as he was formerly called, ' a sorry cur.' I believe he would lay down his life as freely as if it were a counter if it would benefit this country. He is very disponding, however, and says the people are *incapable of redress*, and unworthy of it. This opinion he is confirmed in by the late transaction, which he thinks must have succeeded, but for their barbarous desertion and want of unanimity. As to the French Invasion, he thinks it may not take place at all, and that their plan may be to wear down the English by the expense of a continual preparation against it, which must end in their destruction. This, however, must be all conjecture. He thinks the quiet here is merely temporary.

" I had almost forgot to mention the letter I so officiously wrote to inform you of the honour intended your country residence by his Majesty's troops, which I suspected the day before it happened ; and having with my usual sapience written the letter and mentioned in the outside cover the number of our house and name of

* The name in the letter was carefully scratched out, evidently with a penknife, but whether by Emmet or by the authorities it is impossible to say.

street *for fear of any mistake*, I only waited for an ambassador, when unfortunately for Homer he presented himself and was unlucky to be trusted. As he approached the bridge, seeing what was going forward,—about nineteen people whose pockets were searching—he committed his precious deposit to his boot, and marched up to the gate like another Achilles, vulnerable only in the heel. His pockets were soon turned inside out, where, to use an elegant phrase, the devil might have danced a hornpipe without kicking his shins against a halfpenny. His Horace was taken for the inspection of Government, and he was sent back in disgrace.

"I forgot to tell you that the evening before, he had been in the country where he quite domesticated himself. He waited for two hours in great anxiety for the return of the *young lady* he wished to see, and whom, upon a minute inquiry, he acknowledged he should not know. The only regret of your worthy representative is that he did not put him to some easy death upon the spot, and try perhaps how the bones and body of a spy would answer your cherry-trees. In this case he may more easily take the will for the deed, as his pilgrimage here upon earth will be considerably shortened by the treatment he experienced from both parties, and I should consider any interval of tranquility as a lightning before death.

"I hope you are not angry with me for writing so much about him; but you ought to be obliged to me for making you laugh—*malgré vous*. I believe you will find out that I began and ended this letter in very different moods. I began it in the morning, and it is now near two o'clock at night. I passed the house you are in twice this day, but did not see you. If I thought you were in safety I would be comparatively happy, at least. I cannot help listening to every idle report; and although I cannot suppose that the minute events which occur now can materially influence the grand and general effect in view, yet my mind is risen or depressed as I suppose them favourable or otherwise. I cannot tell you how uneasy I shall be until I know if you have got this. Let me know immediately. *I request you to burn it instantly*. I shall expect a letter from you to tell me if you are well and in spirits. Try and forget the past, and fancy that everything is to be attempted for the first time. I long

to know how your wife and *ten small* children are. Goodbye, my dear friend, but not for ever. Again I must bid you burn this."

No. 2.

"I know so well by experience the pleasure of hearing in any way from a friend, that I have not resolution to deny it to you, while I have it in my power. I feel myself cheered even by the sight of your handwriting, and find more consolation from your letters than from any effort of reason on my mind. Your last, particularly, made me quite happy when I received it. You know I can laugh at the worst of times.

"Since that, however, I have had new causes for anxiety—one which fills me with apprehensions, the return of —— from England, which I expect soon. I have not entirely resolved how to act yet, and fear I shall not have magnanimity of mind enough to abide by the consequences of the conduct I have chosen. The more I consider this alternative I see it unproductive of anything but humiliating reproach to myself. The other, tho' not so dangerous, is scarcely less odious. It is placing my whole reliance upon his opinion of my integrity hitherto, and not questioning me at all, or, if he does, giving me credit for candour I do not possess. I have heard of a report that you and he had left Dublin at the same time, which I think may be very injurious to him. Perhaps, however, I may be alarming myself causelessly.

"I long to hear from you again, and hope the messenger will have a letter if she comes this day. I hate to desire you to destroy my letter, as I know I should find some difficulty in complying with such a request from you; but I think it very unsafe for you to keep it. At all events you ought to be tired of it by this time; besides, you may keep this instead of it. I believe it is from the same principle that the last child is always the favourite that I would not give up your last letter for all the others. Do not let this be any encouragement to you. Indeed, I see plainly you are turning out a Rebel on my hands; but be assured that if I could lay hold of my handy work, as you call it, it should be anything but a moment of delight to you.

"I must not forget to tell you that I have heard a

great many things lately which in your great wisdom you would not tell me of, which adds to my resentment, and I long to see you for the purpose of mortifying you. I enclose you a bit of Ribbon, which was not *originally intended* for a willow, but which may break with dumb eloquence the tidings of my inconstancy. I intend shortly to make a worthy man happy with my heart and hand, which unhappily for you do not always go together.

"Adieu, my dearest friend. I hope you will forgive my folly, and believe me always the same as you would wish. I am quite well, except that I sleep badly. My thoughts are running almost equally on the past and future. I remember when I was a child finding an unfailing soporific in the 29th Psalm, which, except my prayers, was the only thing I had by heart. It had this advantage of anything an apothecary's shop affords, that its effect increased every time, instead of growing weaker."

On the cover of this letter Miss Curran writes:

"I am very uneasy about the Poems I wrote for you. There were initial letters under them all. Tell me if there is any danger of the writer."

* * *

On August 30 Emmet was brought before Redesdale, the Lord Chancellor; Wickham, the Chief Secretary; and Standish O'Grady, the Attorney-General, for secret examination, as was the custom in those days in the case of prisoners charged with high treason. At this time the Executive were ignorant of the identity of the writer of the papers found on Emmet. The following report of the examination is deposited in the Home Office Papers:

Attorney-General. What is your name?

Emmet. Robert Emmet. Having now answered to my name, I must decline answering any further questions.

Informed that he was sent for that he might have an opportunity of explaining what appeared suspicious in his late conduct.

Is sure it is meant to give him the opportunity, and is much obliged, but must still persist in declining. At the same time wishes it to be understood that there is nothing

which could come within the limits of this society to ask him which he could not answer with pride. It might be a breach of confidence unless the limit was laid down; but if he once began there could be no stop. If he answered one and not others he would draw an invidious distinction, which he would not wish to do. Is aware that an unfavourable conclusion must be drawn. Hopes that no unfavourable conclusion can be drawn as to the point of honor. Has laid down this rule to himself.

Have you been in France within these two years?

I have already mentioned that I stop the examination.

Where did you first hear of the Insurrection?

I decline answering any question.

Had you any previous knowledge of it?

Same observation.

Were you in Dublin that night?

Same answer.

Have you corresponded with any persons in France?

No answer.

It is unnecessary, then, to put any question?

Certainly.

Why did you change your cloaths?

Asked Dr. Trevor's permission to borrow cloaths [Major Sirr said of St. John Mason]. It would be infringing on the rule already laid down to go any further.

Are you acquainted with a person of the name of Howley?

Same answer.

Have you gone by the name of Hewitt, of Ellis, of Cunningham?

Has only to mention what he has already said.

Are you inclined to answer as to your handwriting?

No.

Did you ever see a Proclamation purporting to be a Proclamation of the Provisional Government?

I have only to make the same answer.

Have you seen the same in manuscript?

I have only to make the same answer.

Have you seen the same in your own handwriting?

Same answer.

By whom were the letters written that were found on your person?

As to the letters taken out of my possession by Major

Sirr, how can I avoid this being brought forward? Cannot say whether they were committed to my care or not. Would not say but they might be delivered to keep, or unopened. Would wish to give the benefit of those letters without making public by whom written. If the letters were years in his custody—suppose a friend left those letters on a sudden. May I ask if the name of the writer might be mentioned to me? May I know by what means those letters may be prevented from coming forward? Has anything been done in consequence of those letters being taken? May I learn what means, or what has been done upon them?

Attorney-General. You cannot be answered as to this.

Emmet. You must, gentlemen, be sensible how disagreeable it would be to one of yourselves to have a delicate and virtuous female brought into notice. What means would be necessary to bring the evidence in those letters forward without bringing the name forward? Might the passages in those letters be read to me?

Attorney-General. The expressions in those letters go far beyond a confidential communication between a gentleman and a lady. There are evidences of High Treason, and therefore their production is necessary.

Emmet. Might those be mentioned?

Attorney-General. Producing some parts and withholding others never was done.

Emmet. May I not be told the utmost limit to go to prevent the exposure? Then nothing remains to be done. I would rather give up my own life than injure another person.

Attorney-General. We knew before you came into the room that this was the line you would take.

Emmet. I am glad you have had that opinion of me. Have any proceedings been taken on those letters? I will mention as near as I can the line I mean to adopt. I will go so far as this.—If I have assurances that nothing has been done, and nothing will be done, upon these letters, I will do everything consistent with honour to prevent their production. May I know whether anything has been done? Might I, in the meantime, have assistance of counsel? Might I then make one request—that until my arraignment nothing has and nothing will be done?

Attorney-General. You are at liberty to make the request; but cannot receive an immediate answer.

Emmet. I can only repeat what I have already said, that I would do anything to prevent the production of those letters. Personal safety I throw out of the question. With notions of honour in common, persons may have different principles, but all might be agreed as to what a person might owe to a female. Personal safety would weigh nothing if the production of those letters could be prevented.

Are you aware that they form evidence against the person who wrote them ?

As to that, I do not know how far there can be proof as to who wrote them, however, there may be opinions; and I am not aware how far similarity of handwriting might be evidence. But if the person who is primarily concerned does all that in him lies it is very unnecessary and very cruel to proceed against the writer. I feel the more acutely on this point, because it is the only act of my life, within these five months, of which I have to accuse myself.

Do you mean that the female who wrote those letters only had opinions ?

I say it on my honor. I only say that a woman's sentiments are only opinions and they are not reality. When a man gives opinions it is supposed he has actions accordingly; but with a woman the utmost limit is only opinion. I declare on my honour as a man that the person had only opinions. I admit in the eye of the law it is otherwise, but they may have laid down the law where it is not necessary. The same sword cuts down a man as a babe, but it is the mind of the man which teaches him how to use it.

Do you know of any depot of arms or ammunition ?

I have mentioned the only point on which I will speak.

Perhaps you consider the disclosure of names as inconsistent with your notions of honor ?

I will purchase honor with personal safety.

You cannot expect to draw forth any compromise on the part of Government. However, if you could render a service to Government by making a disclosure which may entitle this person to some favour, it might be attended to as far as respects that person, although not extended to yourself. Is disclosing concealed arms dishonorable ?

I must adhere to my former rule.

As a matter of curiosity I may put to you a question—Why Government should indulge you with consenting to a partial disclosure of these letters, when you decline on your part to make any satisfactory answer ?

It is not as an indulgence. I only ask it as if I was in a situation of power I would grant a like favour. I wish everyone in Ireland and England was as innocent as she is. I know when I say it is the only criminal act ; that the young woman's affections were engaged without the knowledge of her friends, and in fact without her own. My resolution is taken. I have mentioned that I will never save honor at the expense of what I think my duty. I wish I knew what is expected, that I might in my own mind consider what is my duty.

Then I am to understand that nothing will induce you to make a full disclosure ?

No ; I never will.

You must draw the line and say how far you can go. I am not asking you where Mr. Dowdall may be apprehended. I am not asking you who visited you two hours before you were taken.

May I not ask—although I am not told what I can do, or how far I am to go—whether those letters lie there to be used or not ?—whether any disclosure has been made by them or any arrest has taken place ?

Would it answer your purpose to have the writer brought into the same room with you ?*

It might perhaps answer yours better. [He rose from his chair in much agitation.] In respect of the person at whose house I was arrested, the lady was under personal obligations to a part of my family ; her sentiments were not the same as mine. Their name might lead to a supposed connection with a person of the name of Palmer on the Coombe.

The person who had the gunpowder or to Mr. Patten ?

I do not mention the gunpowder ; I do not mention who.

Some one under obligations to you ?

* A "N.B." to the report of the examination says : "This was asked on the supposition that the writer of the letters was Mrs. Holmes, Emmet's sister, and that the language of a love-intrigue had been assumed as a means of misleading Government in its search for her."

Few people have obligations to me.

If you come to any resolution you may have an opportunity for a further communication.

In a case of this kind a person naturally wishes to have the opinion of some one beside himself.

Who would you wish ?

It may be a very harmless person. To remove any doubt I name an Englishman whom I never saw but once and then not alone. May I ask to know whether it will occasion any prejudice to him ?

Certainly not.

Counsellor Burton is the person.* May I ask another thing from the honor of every person here present—that no hint or suggestion will be thrown out of what I have mentioned ? There are things such as informers talked of. I hope that those things which go about may go without any foundation. I wish I had been called up sooner. Might I know whether anything has been done to the person in whose house I was taken ? I believe, gentlemen, there are occasions in which you would not think it criminal in me to shelter any of you.

You are aware that the persons in '98, among whom was your brother, made disclosures, concealing only the names of persons ?

I believe they of '98 were differently situated. The object for which they spoke was to save the lives of others, their own never having been in any danger. I know the comparison you are going to draw, and that it will be taken down (smiling).

You are aware how far they went in '98. There was no minute circumstance relating to the plot which they did not disclose ?

May I know when my arraignment will take place ? Might I not be permitted to see the gentleman I mentioned, previous to it ?

Attorney-General. It certainly is unusual to permit a person in your situation such an indulgence.

Chancellor. Mr. Emmet's feelings are a good deal affected.

Emmet. I wish they were at an end. I wish you good-morning, gentlemen.

* * *

* A "N.B." says: "Counsellor Burton is Mr. Curran's clerk."

I have examined with interest and curiosity those letters of Sarah Curran for some indication of her character. They are extremely clever productions for a girl of twenty-one, and are the more remarkable because of the peculiar circumstances under which they were written. Her lover was an outlaw, with the agents of the Government eagerly on his track. Such a situation would have been heartrending to most girls, and their agony of mind must have been reflected in any communication to the hunted lover.

But I cannot trace the slightest tremor in the bold, firm handwriting of Sarah Curran's letters to Robert Emmet, nor do their lucid and sprightly phraseology betray any mental perturbation. Obviously, she was proud of her lover as the head and front of a plot to establish an Irish Republic. But did she realize the perils which menaced him, now that the plot had failed, and that death was the penalty he must pay should he fall into the hands of the outraged law? She seems to have regarded conspiracy as something like the childish game of hide-and-seek. What fun it was! And the romance of it! Fancy Dublin in a terrible commotion, the Yeomanry hunting everywhere for Robert, and she knowing where he was hiding, and in possession of all his secrets! In these letters there are no gloomy anticipations as to the end of it all—an ignominious death for one, and a few years of broken-hearted existence for the other. Poor girl! This apparent unconcern may have been all pretence. What appears to us as the unseemly gaiety, the ill-timed witticisms of the letters, may have been but the effort of a distracted mind to hide its own grief, and give encouragement and hope to a banned and harassed lover. Anyway, Sarah Curran was soon to be brought into agonizing collision with the grim realities of the situation. Soon the sinister figure of Major Sirr was to appear in her very bedroom at the Priory to arrest her, and search for compromising papers to help to send her lover to the gallows. Then it was that the winsome and light-hearted girl was heavily smitten

with anguish and despair, to the very unhingement of her mind. * * *

In the Home Office Papers there is a document which further shows the dreadful anxiety of Emmet, before the examination, for the safety of Sarah Curran. It was written for the Castle by Dr. Trevor, who resided in Kilmainham Gaol in the dual capacity of physician and assistant-governor. Referring to Emmet, it says :

" When he came up for examination on Tuesday last he expressed very considerable anxiety to prevent any proceedings being taken against *a particular person*, and that to protect that person he would sacrifice his own personal safety. He was told that no such sacrifice was desired, and that he was not required to furnish any evidence against himself. But as he expressed such considerable anxiety for *that person*, it was suggested to him to consider how far his notions of honour, as he explained them, would permit him to make such communications to Government respecting the late Insurrection, further depots of arms, ammunition, etc., etc., as might justify the Government in acting towards *that person* with the delicacy he required. So far the Government may be induced to go upon receiving information equivalent to the indulgence; but it never entertained any idea of receiving any information from Mr. Emmet which could extend to protect him, or any of the persons engaged with him, further than *that particular person*."

That harassing state of mind from which Emmet was suffering was increased rather than appeased by the examination. After pondering over the situation for a few days he sent the following letter to the Chief Secretary, in which he deals with the suggestion that had been made to him that, following the example of some of the leaders of the United Irishmen—his brother, Thomas Addis Emmet, among them—he should make a disclosure of the conspiracy :

" SIR, *Sept.* 3, 1803.

" I have heard of you as an honourable man, and as such I commit myself to you without reserve. I have weighed well the proposal that was made to me when I

was before the Privy Council. I know how much I owe to one whose peace of mind I have already too deeply injured, but every way that I turn I find obstacles almost insurmountable. Between the case that was held out to me and the present I can find no parallel. What was done then was neither done by one, nor for one, nor to spare their own personal feelings, nor to obtain an object of a private nature, totally unconnected with the public act that was done. Give me the same advantages. Let me have free communication with some friends; let the lives of others be spared; let the documents affecting another person be suppressed, and I will try how far in my conscience, and according to *my* notions of duty, I ought to go. But I will stand my trial, for I will not purchase my own safety. If this proposal can be agreed to I request that the gentleman I mentioned may be permitted to wait on me.

"I have the honour to be your very obedient humble servant,

"(Signed) R. EMMET.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM WICKHAM."

Emmet was told, in reply to this letter, that the Executive would consider any statement he might desire to make; but they refused to bind themselves by any conditions respecting it.

* * *

The next development of the drama was an attempt to effect the escape of Emmet from gaol. The numerous prisoners confined in Kilmainham on suspicion of being concerned in the Insurrection included a gentleman named St. John Mason, cousinto the principal conspirator. Acting on the suggestion of Emmet that a substantial bribe might induce George Dunn, the turnkey in attendance on the political prisoners, to aid his flight from Kilmainham, Mason offered Dunn £500 for his assistance, and an additional £500 should Emmet escape. What happened is best told by extracts from documents in the Viceroy's Post-bag. Here is the report of the transaction which George Dunn drew up for Dr. Trevor, and the latter forwarded to the Chief Secretary:

"Conceiving it my duty to prevent if possible the execution of such a plan, and that the best mode of doing so was not to immediately reject his proposal (by which I should be precluded from all further information), I told him I would consider upon what he mentioned. I immediately informed you thereof, and received your directions how I should act, in consequence of which I had another interview with Mr. Mason, and said I would endeavour to comply with the request, upon which he gave me a note to deliver to Mr. Emmet, which I gave to you, and which you since informed me you handed to Mr. Secretary Wickham. Mr. Mason then proposed (with which I seemed to comply) that I should procure the key from Mr. Dunn* while at dinner, and let Mr. Emmet escape, and to inform him (Mr. Emmet) thereof, that he might take such steps as he thought necessary, which I accordingly did, and Mr. Emmet gave me a note to Mr. Mason to procure clothes for the purpose of disguise, which note I showed by your directions to Mr. Dunn the keeper. I afterwards delivered it to Mr. Mason, who informed me that —— would be with him the following day, and procure what was desired. In two days after Mr. Mason gave me several things to carry to Mr. Emmet, which I immediately showed to you, and then delivered them, except some articles which you mentioned to me were improper to be conveyed to him."

Emmet's note to St. John Mason—a copy of which was sent to the Chief Secretary—is as follows:

"Ask G.† at what time Mr. D.‡ dines, and if he leaves anyone at the door then. Though it might be a little early, yet as he is longer away then than at any other time, it would better enable us all to go out, and with the change of dress would not be noticed. If it cannot be done, then G. must watch the first opportunity after dinner that Mr. D. goes down to the house, and let me out immediately. I will be ready at the moment. Don't let him wait till the guards are doubled, if he can avoid it, but if he cannot do it before let me be on the watch then, as D. will probably go to give them instruc-

* John Dunn, the Governor of Kilmainham.
† George Dunn, the turnkey.
‡ John Dunn, the Governor.

tions when placing them in the yards, as he did last night.

"I am anxious not to defer it till to-morrow, as I heard the officers who came the rounds consulting with him about placing the sentries for better security, and think I heard them mention me in the *hall*. D. also came in at one o'clock last night, under pretence that he thought he heard me calling. If it is delayed till to-morrow it must be done at dinner-time. If sentries are placed in the hall by day the only way will be, whenever D. goes down let G. whistle *God save the King* in the passage, and I will immediately ask to go to the necessary, and will change my clothes there instantly; but in this case G. must previously convey them there. Send for a pair of spectacles (No. 5 fits my sight), which will facilitate the disguise. After I am gone G. must convey the clothes I wore away."

On the day of the night on which the flight from prison was to be attempted, George Dunn informed St. John Mason that the affair was hopeless, as the Governor, whose suspicions had been aroused, had removed his quarters to the side of the gaol in which the State prisoners were confined.

* * *

The first overture was made to George Dunn on September 5, when Emmet's conditions for a disclosure of the conspiracy were rejected by the Executive. On September 7 Emmet was told of the futility of any attempt at escape. On the following night he wrote a letter to Sarah Curran, and entrusted its delivery to George Dunn, whose treachery neither he nor St. John Mason had yet reason to suspect. The letter, within an hour, was in the hands of the Chief Secretary at the Castle. It revealed to the Executive the information which they were most anxious to obtain—the identity of the writer of the remarkable letters found on the person of Emmet when arrested. Thus by an act of simple trustfulness, by a curious lapse of caution and discretion—due no doubt to his overpowering desire for news of his sweetheart—Emmet brought on himself the most crushing of

all the disasters that fell heavy on him during his brief career as a conspirator. The letter, which is openly addressed to "Miss Sarah Curran," is as follows:

"MY DEAREST LOVE,

"I don't know how to write to you. I never felt so oppressed in my life as at the cruel injury I have done to you. I was seized and searched with a pistol over me before I could destroy your letters. They have been compared with those found before. I was threatened with having them brought forward against me in Court. I offered to plead guilty if they would suppress them. This was refused. Information (without mentioning names) was required. I refused, but offered since, if I would be permitted to consult others, and that they would consent to enter into any accommodation of that nature to save the lives of those condemned, that I would only require for my part of it to have those letters suppressed, and that I would stand my trial. It has been refused. My love, can you forgive me?

"I wanted to know whether anything had been done respecting the person who wrote the letters, for I feared you might have been arrested. They refused to tell me for a long time. At length, when I said that it was but fair if they expected that I should enter into any accommodation that I should know for what I was to do it, they then asked me whether bringing you into the room to me would answer my purpose, upon which I got up and told them that it might answer theirs better. I was sure you were arrested, and I could not stand the idea of seeing you in that situation. When I found, however, that this was not the case, I began to think that they only meant to alarm me; but their refusal has only come this moment, and my fears are renewed. Not that they can do anything to you even if they would be base enough to attempt it, for they can have no proof who wrote them, nor did I let your name escape me once, nor even acknowledge that they were written directly to myself. But I fear they may suspect from the stile, and from the hair, for they took the stock from me, and I have not been able to get it back from them, and that they may think of bringing you forward.

"I have written to your father to come to me to-morrow. Had you not better speak to himself to-night?

Destroy my letters that there may be nothing against yourself, and deny having any knowledge of me further than seeing me once or twice. For God's sake, write to me by the bearer one line to tell me how you are in spirits. I have no anxiety, no care, about myself; but I am terribly oppressed about you. My dearest love, I would with joy lay down my life, but ought I to do more? Do not be alarmed; they may try to frighten you, but they cannot do more. God bless you, my dearest love.

"I must send this off at once; I have written it in the dark. My dearest Sarah, forgive me."*

* * *

The next morning, September 9, Major Sirr and a party of Yeomanry appeared at the Priory, Rathfarnham, with warrants to search the house for papers, and arrest Sarah Curran. Sirr also bore the following letter addressed to John Philpot Curran by the Chief Secretary:

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*Sept. 8th*, 1803.

"SIR,

"It is with extreme regret that I find myself under the necessity of informing you that the Lord Lieutenant is obliged to direct that a search should be made in your house for papers connected with the late treasonable conspiracy. The Lord Lieutenant is persuaded that they have been concealed there without your knowledge, but it is not the less necessary that the search should be made with the utmost exactness.

"As the circumstances which lead to this investigation particularly affect Miss Sarah Curran, it will be necessary that she should be immediately examined, and if it would be less distressing to you that that examination should take place at your own house in town rather than at the Castle, his Excellency will give directions to that effect, in which case you will have the goodness to bring Miss Curran there without delay, and inform me as soon as you shall arrive."†

* Home Office Papers.
† *Ibid.*

What happened at the Priory is thus graphically described by Chief Secretary Wickham in a letter to the Home Secretary:

"*Secret.*

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*9 Sept.*, 1803.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"The writer of the letter found in Mr. Emmet's pocket is discovered. She proves to be Mr. Curran's youngest daughter. This discovery has given rise to some very unpleasant and distressing scenes. It became indispensably necessary to search the apartment of the lady for papers. She resided at her father's house in the country near Rathfarnham, within a short distance of Butterfield Lane. Major Sirr was sent down there this morning with a letter addressed to Mr. Curran, of which I send a copy inclosed. Unfortunately, Mr. Curran was not at home, and still more unfortunately the young lady was not up, tho' the rest of the family (two other daughters and a son) were assembled at breakfast, so that the Major entered the room where she was still in bed. This circumstance occasioned a scene of great confusion and distress, and was also productive of some inconvenience, for whilst the Major and the other daughter were giving assistance to Mr. Emmet's correspondent — who was thrown into violent convulsions—the eldest Miss Curran continued to destroy some papers, the few scraps of which that were saved are in Mr. Emmet's handwriting.

"I have the satisfaction to add that Mr. Curran is satisfyed that Government has acted throughout with great personal delicacy towards him, and that on his part he has acted fairly towards Government, and that he was unquestionably ignorant of the connection between his daughter and Mr. Emmet.

"The Lord Lieutenant particularly requests that Miss Curran's name may not be mentioned. It is difficult that it should be long concealed, but it is desirable that it should not be first mentioned by any member of Government in either country.

"The Attorney-General, who has had the kindness to go himself to Mr. Curran's house at Rathfarnham, gives the most melancholy and affecting account of the state in which he left the whole family."*

* Home Office Papers.

On Curran's return to his house that September 9, 1803, he learned for the first time of the relations between his daughter and Emmet, and of the implication of his daughter in the conspiracy. He was overwhelmed by the news. His anger against Sarah was intense. This great lawyer, this orator with the tongue of fire, this wit, from whose recorded sallies the lapse of a century has not evaporated the spirit of laughter, was, with all his genius, a mean-souled creature. His conduct, as disclosed by the Hardwicke Correspondence, was most despicable. It was not for his daughter, suffering from the cruellest pangs that can lacerate the ardent heart of a young girl in love, that he was concerned. He was fearful lest his prospects of promotion to the Bench might be imperilled. He hastened in a mad rage to the Castle, saw the Attorney-General—Standish O'Grady—vituperated Emmet, denounced his daughter, tendered his person and his papers to the Government, to abide any inquiry they might deem it expedient to direct. Accordingly, he appeared before the Privy Council, and, after examination, was dismissed without a stain on his mean and contemptible character.

The Lord Lieutenant—a kindly, generous man, as his correspondence shows—decided that no action was to be taken against Miss Curran. The poor girl for a time lost her reason, and could not in any circumstances have been removed to prison. The Home Secretary, writing to his Excellency from Whitehall, September 16, 1803, says :

" Your delicacy and management with regard to the Curran family is highly applauded. The King is particularly pleased with it. It is a sad affair. Mademoiselle seems a true pupil of Mary Woollstonecraft."

The King's own comment in a note to the Lord Lieutenant is : " Emmet's correspondence with the daughter of Mr. Curran is certainly curious."

* * *

Poor Emmet! He was indeed sorely stricken by the discovery of his sweetheart's association with him in his dreams and ambitions, his projects and efforts for the overthrow of the British power in Ireland. He appealed fervently to the authorities for the destruction of the papers. He offered to plead guilty to the charge of high treason and to walk to the gallows without a word—giving up his right to address the court from the dock and the people from the scaffold—if, in return, Miss Curran and her relatives were spared the annoyance and the grief of the public disclosure of these documents.

CHAPTER V

CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION OF CONDEMNED CRIMINALS

I HAVE quoted in the last chapter a letter from Charles Yorke to the Lord Lieutenant, in which he relates that on the occasion of his receiving the seals of the Home Office from the King, his Majesty censured the officials of Dublin Castle for their failure to procure information of the conspiracy before it exploded on July 23. To that communication the Viceroy thus replied:

"*Private and Confidential.*

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*August 23rd*, 1803.

"MY DEAR CHARLES,

"From the confidential communication contained in your last letter of the 18th inst., respecting the impression which appears to have been made on his Majesty's mind respecting the want of intelligence of the plans of the disaffected in Ireland, I think it highly necessary that a very short and circumstantial detail should be transmitted in an official shape of the Insurrection of the 23rd of July, and of the intelligence that had been previously obtained of the intention of rising. The truth is, and I am more and more convinced of it, from every circumstance that has reached me, that an idea of an insurrection in Dublin likely to endanger the safety of any part of the city, with a garrison consisting of the 21st, 23rd, 28th, and 62nd Regiments of Infantry, and the 16th Light Dragoons, was perfectly ridiculous and absurd. I cannot deny that many proper and obvious precautions were omitted, and that I have borne in the publick opinion

a share of the blame which is attached to the Government generally, but which is owing only to a want of proper notice being sent to the Barracks and to the officers of the garrison.

"It is a delicate matter to state even common facts when they amount to what,—if an inquiry were made,—would constitute a charge. When General Fox left me at the Castle, after Marsden had stated the grounds of alarm, and of the agitation which prevailed, it was almost half-past four o'clock; and he observed that it was a very fortunate circumstance that so sensible a man as Colonel Vassal was field officer of the day. I understood that he intended to send for him immediately. It turns out, however, and I did not know this circumstance till very lately, that he sent notes to Colonel Vassal, Sir Charles Asgill, and General Dunne, to call upon him at the Royal Hospital at a quarter-past nine o'clock. Previously to that hour no directions were given by General Fox, and Sir Charles Asgill, as well as General Dunne and Colonel Vassal, were obliged to run for their lives in passing from the Royal Hospital to the Barracks, through a part of James's Street, in order to get to the Queen's Bridge. A note was sent to Colonel Manley about the same time to desire that he would have an eye to the Artillery Barracks; and it was on returning with his answer that a dragoon was killed. Sir Charles Asgill went to the Barracks between nine and ten from the Royal Hospital, without any power to act on account of General Fox telling him that he would follow him shortly. Colonel Beckwith, however, observing that he ought to remain at the Royal Hospital, he countermanded his horse, but without sending orders to Sir Charles, who remained in expectation of them upwards of an hour. In short, it was near one o'clock in the morning before any troops were marched from the Royal Barracks, and after the whole Insurrection had been suppressed by two companies of the 21st Regiment.

"A narrative of what passed without, however, entering into these particulars, which cannot be stated without making matter of accusation, will be transmitted officially, founded upon the paper I sent you some time ago. Marsden also has made a statement to me which I have desired him to put under the form of a letter to me; and the Chancellor has suggested that I should order an in-

quiry to be made into the conduct of the Under-Secretaries by himself, Wickham and the Attorney-General, that a report might be made upon the subject as a future document.

"I understand that Corry and Lord Limerick have been two of the most violent against Marsden on the late occasion. The latter is connected with a party at Limerick who always endeavoured to represent that county in a state of particular danger last winter, for which there was no real ground; and at that time I have always thought that the representing of any part of Ireland in a state bordering upon rebellion was likely to influence the counsels of the French Government in any question of peace or war.

"Cooke,* too, has of course been very active in disseminating his opinion to the disadvantage of Marsden. First, because he is probably very angry with himself for having quitted his situation; and secondly, because Marsden knows some circumstances not much to his credit, which, however, to the credit of Marsden, he has divulged to none but those who must necessarily know them. One was no less than Cooke having diverted from its proper channel a thousand pounds charged to the secret fund, and intended as a reward to the person who discovered Lord Edward FitzGerald. This was discovered

* Edward Cooke was an Englishman. When Earl Fitzwilliam went to Ireland in 1795 as Viceroy of the Whig Government, Cooke was Under-Secretary of the Military Department of Dublin Castle. "He was a Minister, not a clerk," said Fitzwilliam. He was dismissed by the Lord Lieutenant—an act which was one of the causes of the recall of Fitzwilliam within a few months—and the succeeding Viceroy, Lord Camden, reinstated him in 1796 by appointing him Under-Secretary. Cooke sat in the Irish House of Commons from 1790 till the Union for the borough of Old Leighlin, Carlow. A pamphlet entitled "Arguments for and Against an Union between Great Britain and Ireland Considered," which was published anonymously during the controversy, was written by him, and was regarded as the most able statement of the views of the promoters of the scheme. He was a supporter of Catholic emancipation, like his chiefs Cornwallis and Castlereagh. He resigned his office as Under-Secretary shortly after the arrival of Hardwicke in Ireland, because of his disappointment in not having been made Chief Secretary in succession to Castlereagh. Such was the confidence of Castlereagh in Cooke that he retained his services in all the various departments which he successively filled as Minister.

by Cooke's bond being found by an executor amongst the papers of a Government spy who was employed to pay the money to a subordinate person who has never received it, and who has since been an applicant for remuneration for that important service. The other was a transaction never explained; but from which he appears to have applied to his own use £500 that was to have been paid to Sir Vere Hunt, and which was paid by Mr. Taylor, first Clerk in the Civil Office, to Cooke himself for that purpose. Sir Vere denies that he ever received it, and Cooke has never answered either Marsden's or Taylor's letters of inquiry upon the subject. Sir Vere, therefore, considers himself as entitled to that sum from the Irish Government, and is now a claimant for it, though already paid. These anecdotes are to give you some idea of the grounds that Cooke has for abusing Marsden, if it is true that he has done so, and it is fair you should know them, though they are not of a nature to be generally known. They are, however, facts, and with other circumstances that I have heard will fix my opinion of the man, and regulate my conduct to him through life."

In a subsequent letter the Lord Lieutenant deals more fully with the reward paid for the betrayal of Lord Edward FitzGerald in 1798, and throws fresh light on that secret service transaction:

"In the private account of disbursements for Rebellion secret service a sum of a thousand pounds is charged by Mr. Cooke for a person who gave the information which immediately led to the apprehension of Lord Edward FitzGerald. The money appears to have been paid to one Higgins, an attorney, but he was, in fact, only the channel through which it was to be conveyed to the party himself, a barrister of the name of Magan, who had correct intelligence of the proceedings and connexions of the Kildare rebels.*

* Francis Magan, the betrayer of Lord Edward FitzGerald, was the son of a woollen draper of Dublin, a graduate of Trinity College, and a barrister-at-law. He was one of the leading members of the United Irishmen in Dublin. Being in financial difficulties, he was induced by Francis Higgins, proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*—known in the history of the period as "the sham squire"—to betray, through him, the secrets of the organization. He supplied the authorities, through Higgins, with the

"On the death of Higgins, between two and three years ago, his executors came into possession of a bill or promissory note of Mr. Cooke for a thousand pounds, and shortly afterwards Mr. Magan stated that he had never received any reward for the effectual service which he had rendered in May, 1798. Upon this representation, which necessarily brought to my knowledge the circumstances of the transaction on which it was grounded, I thought it right to authorize a payment to Mr. Magan of £500, as the amount of the other bill, if recovered from Mr. Cooke, would become the property of persons for whom it was evidently never intended. Thus in one instance the misapplication of this secret service money has occasioned an additional charge upon the fund, and has given rise to claims and applications which ought now to have been set at rest, and which it is extremely difficult to gratify.

"These circumstances, from the nature of the transactions themselves, and as relating to a person that has held and again holds a situation of great publick trust and confidence, are of course known to very few; to none, I believe, but to those who became officially acquainted with them. I think it right that you should be apprised of them, as you would be if you were to look into recent and interesting transactions here; and though I am very far from wishing to injure anyone, I will never disavow my knowledge of the circumstances, if, being known by others, their authenticity should be questioned."

The Home Secretary's official reply to the Lord Lieutenant must have been gratifying to his Excellency:

"*Confidential.*

"WHITEHALL,
"*12th Sept.*, 1803.

"MY LORD,

"Your Excellency's *most* confidential dispatch of the 25th ulto., received here on the 30th, would have been sooner acknowledged but from my wish that it should be

information which led to the capture of the outlawed leader of the conspiracy, Lord Edward FitzGerald, in a house in Thomas Street. Magan, whose treachery was never suspected during his lifetime, died in Dublin in 1833. He left an endowment to his parish church, SS. Michael and John, Dublin, for perpetual Masses for the repose of his soul.

circulated among his Majesty's confidential servants, in order that a full opportunity might be given for considering and investigating the very important details contained in it.

" I have now the satisfaction of being able to inform your Excellency that the account which you have transmitted of the state of the intelligence possessed by your Excellency's Government respecting the plans and designs of the rebels previous to the wicked and malignant Insurrection of the 23rd July, as well as the principal circumstances which attended the atrocious transaction, is considered as affording a complete and satisfactory answer to all the insinuations which have been thrown out against the activity, the diligence, and the information of your Excellency's Civil Government ; and further his Majesty has been graciously pleased to command me to acquaint your Excellency that he is satisfied that no blame whatever is imputable to it upon that unhappy occasion.

" Much as the execrable assassination of that excellent and venerable magistrate, Lord Kilwarden, as well as the various other atrocities committed on that melancholy night by a band of misguided and ferocious wretches, are to be deplored, there appears no reason for supposing, upon a view of all the circumstances which have come to light, that such occurrences could have been wholly prevented, for altho' the intention of rising in some part or other of the city in the course of the night was known and ascertained in the afternoon of the 23rd July, yet it is not difficult to conceive that the *precise point* at which the Insurrection was to commence might remain concealed from your Excellency's Government, when, as is evident from subsequent information, several of the rebel leaders themselves were wholly unapprized of it.

" I cannot conclude this dispatch," the Home Secretary and the Lord Lieutenant's brother says, " without expressing my opinion of the judgment, firmness, and steadiness manifested by your Excellency in the various proceedings you have thought it proper to adopt for punishing the rebels and their abettors, for the security and protection of his Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects in Dublin and its vicinity."

* * *

Meanwhile, a Special Commission was sitting in Green Street Court-house, Dublin, for the trial of the prisoners arrested in the Thomas Street district on the night of the Insurrection.

The Viceroy writes unofficially as follows to the Home Secretary :

" *Private and Confidential.*

" DUBLIN CASTLE,
" *1st Sept.*, 1803.

" MY DEAR CHARLES,

" I have great satisfaction in acquainting you that the result of the two first days of the trials has been perfectly satisfactory. Yesterday, Kearney, who was taken in the attack upon the barracks in Thomas Street, was found guilty upon the clearest evidence. The Attorney-General's speech was extremely good, and as there is a tolerable report of it in the *Dublin Evening Post*, I have sent you the paper. The man was executed to-day at one o'clock in Thomas Street. His conduct was not improper, for though he denied his guilt he said to the people, ' This is a bad business, boys. I advise you to have nothing more to do with it.'

" Major Huxley went into the midst of the crowd in the street, and did not observe any unpleasant symptoms in the countenances of the people, nor was any rebellious expression uttered in his hearing. There was, however, very little said of any sort, and the guard, of course, rendered any attempt at riot perfectly hopeless. Two others have been convicted to-day."

Chief Secretary Wickham writes a fuller and more interesting account of the demeanour of Kearney in his last hours to Pole Carew, of the Home Office :

" DUBLIN CASTLE,
" *1st Sept.*, 1803.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" Kearney, who was convicted yesterday, was executed in Thomas Street to-day at one o'clock. His conduct from the time of his conviction exhibited a strange mixture of religion and profaneness, of truth and hypocrisy, of loyalty and of attachment to the cause for which he suffered.

" Nothing could be more outrageous and indecent than his behaviour in prison, and at the prison door when he was brought out to be put into the cart. On his way to the place of execution he prayed most devoutly, without anything of affectation or of religious enthusiasm. At the gallows he exhorted the people in a firm, manly voice, and with some degree of eloquence, to avoid drinking in publick-houses, which he said had brought him to his untimely end, and not to engage in seditious or rebellious practices, which could bring them to no good. He then solemnly declared that he dyed an innocent man, for that the witnesses against him had sworn that he was in Thomas Street, where he solemnly declared that he had never been that night.

" The fact is that he was taken with a pike in his hand, stepping out before the party that he was leading, and exhorting them to attack the military, by a soldier of the 21st, who darted out of the ranks, seeing the man advanced before his fellows, seized him, and delivered him to his corporal. As to this point nothing could be more clear than the evidence. But the place where this happened being near the junction of Thomas Street and James Street—which in fact are one and the same, the one being a prolongation of the other—this poor deluded wretch rested his charge of perjury on the witnesses, and his proof of his own innocence, on the question whether the troops had actually quitted James Street and entered Thomas Street before he was taken.

" There was a prodigious crowd at the execution, which took place in a wide street very much resembling Broad St. Giles's. Not the least tumult or disorder, nor any Irish groan, or sign of disapprobation of any kind.

" All is quiet and submission ; and if I am not very much mistaken, indeed, all will remain so.

" Since I last wrote we have procured evidence against Emmet which will make out the compleatest case of circumstantial evidence that I ever remember to have heard or read of. We trace him to the mountains in the green uniform of which we have heard so much, and in the character of a French General speaking broken English to his followers. Two persons in whose house he took refuge, with his followers, in the above disguise, have seen him in Kilmainham Gaol, and sworn to him positively, notwithstanding his change of dress, as the French General

whom they saw in the mountains. They had first described him so accurately in this room that no one who had heard them, and who knew Emmet's person, could suppose it possible that they could be mistaken.

"As soon as I have a little leisure you shall receive a copy of Emmet's examination before the Chancellor, the Attorney-General and myself. It is very curious, tho' it makes no new discoveries.

"I send you a copy of a letter I received half an hour since from the Solicitor-General on the subject of the trials of to-day.

"A little patience, and Mr. Yorke and all Lord Hardwicke's friends will see his Excellency's character rise out of this temporary cloud in a manner that will leave to them nothing to regret, and entirely confound all his enemies.

"Believe me to be, my dear Sir, most faithfully yours,

"WM. WICKHAM.

"P.S.—I believe we have found a man who can identify Emmet as one of the officers in green uniforms who were in the depot. It is most provoking to think that eleven men who were taken in the depot were so mixed in the prison with fifty other prisoners that no one can now venture to identify them."*

The following is the letter from James M'Clelland, Solicitor-General, to which the Chief Secretary refers:

"*Thursday evening, 1st Sept.*, 1803.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am just returned from the Commission Court, and have received your note. There were two prisoners tried to-day, and both found guilty. The first was called Roach, and his case exactly resembled the case of yesterday. He was taken by the same party of the army, and nearly at the same time as Kearney, who was convicted yesterday.

"The second prisoner tried to-day was a man of the name of Kirwan, who was proved to have assembled a party of rebels in his house in Plunket Street on the night of the 23rd of July, and to have sallied out at their head.

"He was defended by Mr. Curran, who made a most

* From Ireland, "Private and Secret, 1803."—*Home Office Papers.*

extraordinary speech. He set out with praising Government, congratulating the court on the loyalty of the great majority of the people, professing his own loyalty, abusing Buonaparte for his causing the present Rebellion, and advising the mob, *as an old friend*, against their present folly. So far his speech did him credit. But then, forgetting all he had said, he occupied the court nearly an hour in proving no Rebellion existed, and then sat down, having totally forgotten his client in the transaction.

"I once thought it would have been necessary to have spoken to evidence, in reply to Mr. Curran; but the latter part of his speech was so extravagant, and the witnesses produced for the prisoner were guilty of such gross contradictions, that I declined speaking.

"I think there could not be two more satisfactory convictions than took place to-day."

* * *

Denis Lambert Redmond, a coal factor, with a large place of business on the Quays, was one of the few Dublin traders intimately associated with the conspiracy. In the elaborate plan of campaign drawn up by Emmet the duty assigned to Redmond was to lead a large force of the rebels from the Quays to an attack on the Castle, while Emmet himself advanced from Thomas Street. On the night of July 23, after the collapse of the insurrection, Redmond fled from Dublin, and was arrested a few days subsequently as he was about to leave Newry in a vessel bound for America.

On September 4 Dr. Trevor of Kilmainham Gaol writes as follows to the Chief Secretary:

"Redmond proposes to make a full discovery of all the sources from which money was advanced to the rebel chiefs; of all persons concerned; of the place and manner of procuring ammunition, and of everything done within his knowledge either in France, England or Ireland. But, as a preliminary to this, he requires an interview with R. Emmet of an hour in order to settle with him the conditions of such explicit confession, and have his assistance therein."*

* Home Office Papers.

To this the Chief Secretary returned the following reply:

"The proposed interview with Mr. Emmet is totally inadmissible. With respect to the terms on which any discovery is to be made, Government will bind itself only to this, that such discovery shall not in any way be made use of on the trial of Mr. Redmond. As to everything else, Mr. Redmond must rely on the discretion of the Government, which will be regulated by the importance of the discovery, and the use that may be made of it. It is also thought fit to apprize Mr. Redmond that his trial must proceed to-morrow morning, unless some previous communication from him to Government shall induce a change."*

On September 5 the Viceroy writes to the Home Secretary that Redmond had that morning shot himself with a pistol just as he was about to be removed from Newgate Gaol to Green Street Court-house for trial. His Excellency proceeds:

"He placed the pistol to his head, just above the ear, but the surgeon who examined the wound reported that the ball had not entered the skull, and that he might possibly recover. This evening, I am informed that he has made application in writing for some whey, and has shown other symptoms of sensibility, so that he may possibly yet survive to take his trial.

"We are endeavouring to ascertain the means by which he became possessed of a pistol; and it appears that this morning he was visited by a Mrs. Hatshell, his aunt, Redmond, his cousin, a surgeon, Curran his counsel and McNally,† an attorney. It is probable that the pistol was brought by one of the two first. At any rate, the prison, which is entirely under the jurisdiction of the city, is very ill administered."

"A paper was found in his pocket of a most wicked and malignant description, which appears to have been written this morning. I enclose a copy of it, the only one which has been made, for I do not think it is of a nature

* Home Office Papers.

† This McNally was a son of Leonard MacNally, barrister-at-law and Government spy.

that ought to be made publick. The prisoner who was tried to-day, of the name of Clare, whose conviction was thought the most doubtful, was found guilty."

The following is the document which was found in Redmond's pocket. It is dated "New Prison, August 5th, 1803," but obviously the month should be September :

"*To the Government.*

"Remember that you have destroyed my property, my liberty, and what is more you have drove me to a state of desperation beyond conception, by your sanguinary proceedings this time back. For God sake stop your murder; that is, I mean, what you call executions. I do not mean to resort to threats or menaces, for you well know how you stand. You may rest assured there will be a retaliation, and that shortly. For God's sake, I again beg of you not to be bringing innocent men into trouble. I will repeat it again, that there never was so wanton an attack made upon any poor young man. It is enough to disgrace the most savage nation. It is too well known to the publick, and I am sure will never be forgot.

"What supposed lenient measures! O my God, will ever that day arrive when the liberty of the citizen will be realized. Farewell, you tools of oppression. I will not give you that satisfaction you so wantonly expected in taking my life. I will be remembered when you are all forgot. Adieu, you poor wretches. You will shortly meet the fate of all tyrants.

"CITIZEN DENIS LAMBERT REDMOND.

"May God forgive me, as you have drove me to it. O poor Emmet. He's deceived and betrayed into the hands of a lawless enemy.

"O my dear friends, all is not over, thank God. May God protect all the friends of Liberty. May God deliver Mr. Emmet from the hands of his enemies, so I say.

"The very tortures that I have seen exercised by the miscreants of Despotism on those poor men, who were executed these few days back, previous to their being executed, is beyond all the conception of liberal ideas. Fellows grinning and laughing when they would ask a question.

"Let my body not be ill used, but given to my friends, that my dust may be with my poor father and mother.

"Adieu, my fellow-prisoners, and may God protect you in the hour of danger. Adieu; adieu."

"My dear Lord," says Yorke, writing from Charles Street, London, September 10, "yours of the 5th relating to Redmond, with its diabolical enclosure, is just received. I hope his life will yet be preserved, to be ultimately rendered up as an atonement for such atrocious crimes."

The pious wish of Charles Yorke was fulfilled. Redmond recovered, and once more offered to make disclosures on condition that his life was spared. Dr. Trevor reports to the Chief Secretary:

"*September* 30, 1803.

"Redmond is ready to give an account of his whole proceedings from the 10th July to the 23rd, as well as he can recollect, except the names of the persons that he was actually to command, who were of the inferior order.

"He will inform Government where he got acquainted with the chiefs, as well as of the different plans for surprising the capital, which he thinks Government is already in possession of.

'After giving the foregoing information, and pleading guilty to the indictment, he expects that his life shall be spared, and sent within one month to any place, except Botany Bay.

"He has no knowledge of any of the county of Wexford men, or any other county. He is chiefly acquainted with the lower order of Dublin men that are concerned; he thinks almost the whole of them.

"He will also inform the Government where the French were to land. He says not in Bantry Bay.

"He will not be a prosecutor. The principal persons engaged for Dublin are those already proclaimed. He will inform of any other he can recollect.

"He was in company with four French officers. He knows the names of two of them; and one he believes to be the rank of a General. He supped with them at the Globe Coffee House. Mr. Emmet was of the party.

"There was a French officer to command in every county in Ireland, and he believes that a great number were in the country at the time of the Insurrection, and

have since escaped to France. He also believes that the principal Irish leaders engaged in the Rebellion have reached France."*

The Chief Secretary, commenting on the statement about the French officers, in the last paragraph writes: "I incline to think that this language was holden by the principal conspirators to keep up the spirits and hopes of their followers;" and with respect to the assertion that the principal Irish leaders had reached France, he says: "This is not true with respect to the great majority of them." He further writes: "I am nearly satisfied there were no French officers in Dublin. I also believe that Redmond was not admitted into the conspiracy till very late."

The Executive came to the conclusion that Redmond could tell them nothing about the Insurrection which they did not already know. "His offer," writes the Chief Secretary, "was rejected on account of his persisting in his refusal to disclose any names but those which were already known to the Government."†

Redmond was brought to trial for high treason, and convicted. What happened, the Lord Lieutenant tells his brother in the following "private and confidential" unofficial letter:

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*Oct. 5th*, 1803.

"MY DEAR CHARLES,

"The trial of Redmond came on to-day, and he was convicted on evidence as clear as any of those who have been found guilty since the opening of the Special Commission. It is very extraordinary that after having offered to disclose whatever he knew before the day was originally fixed for the trial, and having attempted to destroy himself after this offer was rejected, he should have gloried in his guilt instead of attempting either to disprove or to palliate it. I understand his speech to the Court, after the verdict was pronounced, was entirely of that tendency, extolling the French Government, and repre-

* Home Office Papers. † *Ibid.*

senting it as the hope to which the people of this country were to look to overthrow their own. He will be executed to-morrow opposite his house on the Coal Quay, where there was a bonfire on the 14th of July to commemorate the French Revolution, which, it is highly probable, was furnished by Redmond himself.

"Keenan was executed this day. Mackintosh, who was hanged on Monday, confessed his guilt, but refused to address the people. He was the person who hired the house in Patrick-street, and who was taken at Arklow after the 23rd of July. He came from Scotland about the year 1793, and having married a sister of Keenan, died a Roman Catholick. He had positively denied any knowledge of the conspiracy, and refused to give any information whatever, tho' he might have saved his life and returned to his own country in perfect safety."

* * *

In the course of the executions an interesting question arose as to the demeanour of the convicts who were attended to the scaffold by priests:

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*Sept.* 10*th*, 1803.

"SIR,

"A question has arisen since the commencement of the trials which, as deserving of importance from circumstances with which it is connected, I think it right to communicate to you for the information of his Majesty's confidential servants, in order that if it should be necessary I may receive his Majesty's commands upon the subject.

"The two first prisoners who were found guilty before the Special Commission were not attended by any priest either to administer the sacrament to them in prison, or to receive their confession at the place of execution. As soon as I learned this circumstance, which was entirely unknown to me till after the second execution, I directed an inquiry to be made into the cause of the omission, and found that the sheriffs of the city had taken upon themselves to prevent the attendance of a priest on the prisoners in Newgate. Considering, however, that persons who had been permitted by the State to be brought up in a particular religion had a right to the consolation it might afford in their last moments, and that no justi-

fiable cause could be alledged for denying it, I directed immediate orders to be given for the admission of priests to the other convicts.

" Strong representations have since been made by the sheriffs in consequence of their observations on the different conduct of the prisoners who had been so circumstanced, as they have not been disposed to confess or admit their crimes, and appear to consider themselves as having satisfied every duty by communicating with the priest, whilst the two convicts to whom I have referred, not only admitted their guilt, but exhorted the people to avoid the crime of rebellion. The others who communicated with a priest exhorted the people to give up their pikes and abstain from rebellious practices, but have uniformly declared that they died innocent.

" Whence does the difference of the conduct of the persons so circumstanced arise? Is it that they mean to deny the proof of their guilt, and to arraign the administration of publick justice, or that they consider themselves as perfectly absolved and restored to innocence by the absolution of the priest? Certain it is, however, that representations have been made to me that it is generally understood that the confession to the priest answers every purpose and every duty, and supercedes the necessity of any confession to the Government, or any admission of the crimes which have been proved.

" I have thought these circumstances and the observations so stated of so serious a nature, that I have directed Mr. Wickham to inquire of Dr. Troy into the truth of these allegations, and beg leave to refer you to his account of the substance of his conversation with Dr. Troy upon the subject, herewith enclosed.

" I trust you will agree with me in thinking that I could not have properly sanctioned a refusal to the convicts of a priest of their own religion. It appeared to me, therefore, that the middle way was not to permit the priest to be alone with the prisoners at the time of their receiving the confession and administering the sacrament. But this seemed to be a point of so much importance connected with the discussions that have taken place, that I cannot help considering it as a question of State, and have not thought it advisable to take that step without knowing the opinion of His Majesty's

Ministers, and receiving his Majesty's commands. All that I have thought myself at liberty to do, in a question of so delicate a nature, is to ensure the attendance of a priest of good and respectable character, and not to suffer the interference of those priests with whom the prisoners may have been in the habit of communicating, and to whose assistance they would naturally be desirous of resorting.

"I cannot conclude without observing that the publick declarations of innocence which are so frequently made in this country by persons of the Roman Catholic religion, who suffer by the sentence of the Law, are by no means confined to crimes of treason and rebellion, but that they are generally made by all who suffer, whether for crimes against the State or of any other description. It would not, therefore, be fair to presume that the priests inculcate concealment from improper motives, or confine their injunctions to concealment (if such are actually made) to crimes of treason and rebellion; but that the unfortunate culprits consider themselves restored to innocence in consequence of the absolution of their priests, without meaning to arraign the justice of their sentence, or to deny their having committed the crime for which they are condemned to suffer.

"If the subject appears to you to be of sufficient consequence, I would suggest the propriety of putting some questions to the Roman Catholic bishops in England, and to ascertain from any of the emigrant French bishops or clergy, with whom it may be thought proper to communicate, how far the practice of considering the confession of a criminal to a priest as superceding the necessity of a confession to the State obtained in France under the old Church, or is understood to prevail in countries where the Roman Catholic religion is established, and whether in such countries the priest to whom confession of a crime had been made would consider himself at liberty to grant absolution until the same confession had been reported to the Government or to the police of the country.

"I have the honour to be, with great truth and respect, Sir, your most obedient and faithful servant,

"HARDWICKE.*

"THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES YORKE."

* Home Office Papers.

The following is the Chief Secretary's report :

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*Sept.* 10*th*, 1803.

"According to your Excellency's desire, I have seen Dr. Troy, the titular Archbishop of Dublin, and had a long conversation with him on the subject of the received opinions of the Romish Church with respect to what they call the Sacrament of Penance, of which confession and absolution make a part.

"I first asked him whether confession could be received and absolution given in the hearing of a third person, spiritual or layman? To which he answered, 'No, not in any case.'

"I then asked him whether the priest receiving confession considered himself at liberty to disclose the whole or any part of what should be revealed to him, either to the Government of the country, or to any other person? To this he answered that the priest was not only not at liberty to disclose, but was bound not to disclose any part of such confession either to the Government of the country or to any other person whatever; and that the same rule held good whether the confession was or was not sufficiently full and sincere to entitle the person who made it to receive absolution.

"But he said that if in confession any plot against the existing Government were disclosed to the priest he would be bound to give information to Government that such plot was in agitation, taking care to say nothing that could in any way lead to a suspicion of the person from whom, or the manner in which, the information had been obtained.

"I then asked him whether such confession so made to the priest, particularly in the case of a crime against the State, was considered as a full atonement, so as to entitle the penitent to absolution without a disclosure of such crime being first made by him to the police or to the Government of the country? To this the Doctor answered very distinctly that he did not consider the confession to the priest alone, under such circumstances, a sufficient atonement; and that either the priest ought to insist on such confession to the State or to the police being previously made, or to enjoin the making such disclosure subsequent to absolution, in like manner as penance is enjoined under similar circumstances, which

latter mode he admitted to be the more usual practice here.

"I then asked him whether, if absolution should be denied to a prisoner on the ground of his refusing to make to the Government of the country that disclosure which he had already made to the priest, it would be competent to the priest to state to Government the fact that he had denied the man absolution, and if so, whether he would be at liberty to state his reason for such denial? To this the Doctor answered that the priest could not, consistently with the principles and practice of the Romish Church, declare to the Government, or to any other person spiritual or temporal (not even to the Pope), that he had refused absolution to any individual, under any circumstances whatever.

"I then asked whether if the priest had a thorough persuasion in his own mind that a criminal had made a full confession of his crime, and was sincerely penitent, he could grant him absolution, tho' the form of confession could not be strictly performed in all its parts in the manner required by the Catholic Church? To this he answered that he unquestionably might grant absolution in such a case, as for instance where a man was deprived of his speech by a stroke of the palsy, or any other visitation of God, and that in such case he should consider the Sacrament of Penance as complete.

"On putting this last question, I warned him that it had a practical object in view—meaning that he should understand that I looked to the possibility of its being necessary that the priest should not be left alone with the prisoners now under sentence of death, and I am persuaded that he so understood me.

"WM. WICKHAM."*

The Home Office Papers, "Ireland, Private and Secret, 1803," contain the draft of the Home Secretary's reply to this important communication from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. This very document appears to have been laid for approval before the Cabinet, for it contains on the margins written comments by several Ministers, including "Eldon," the Lord Chancellor, and "H. A." (Henry Addington), the Prime Minister. The following is a copy of the draft:

* Home Office Papers.

"WHITEHALL,
"*Sept.* 28*th*, 1803.

"MY LORD,

"I should sooner have acknowledged your Excellency's confidential despatch of the 10th inst. (received here on the 16th), communicating some very interesting and important information respecting certain tenets of the Popish Church, with reference to the Sacrament of Penance and Confession, and to its effects upon the minds of some of the ignorant and misguided Rebels who have lately undergone the punishment due to their crimes, had I not waited for the result of a communication which it was thought proper to make to some of the most respectable clergy of that persuasion at this time in England.

"Having in the course of yesterday been enabled to meet with Dr. Douglas, one of the principal titular bishops near London,* I had the opportunity of examining him very fully upon the subject, taking for my guide the outline of the questions so ably and judiciously put to Dr. Troy by Mr. Wickham. I have now the honour to inclose for your Excellency's information the substance of that conversation, which I hope will prove satisfactory, and not the less so because it appears to differ in some material particulars from the doctrines laid down by the Catholic Archbishop on your side the water.

"Indeed, it appears to me that the principles avowed by Dr. Douglas are much more consistent with the dictates of genuine Christianity, sound morality, and true policy, than those of Dr. Troy, which are indeed sufficiently mischievous, and calculated, when combined with Jacobin Plots, and the system of United Irishmen, to give every possible effect to detestable intrigue and treasonable conspiracies.†

"I have likewise the honour to transmit for your

* Note by the Lord Chancellor: "I think it necessary to avoid using any such expression as 'Titular Bishop.' In this country I have doubts whether it is not giving a sanction to a name which it might be possibly thought a misdemeanour for the person to arrogate to himself; perhaps a few years ago a very considerable misdemeanour.—ELDON."

† Notes by Ministers: "The censure upon Dr. Troy, contrasted with the commendation of the other priest, appears to me more severe than the difference in their opinions would seem to warrant."—W. "Is this paragraph necessary?"—H. A.

Excellency's perusal an original paper containing answers to certain questions proposed by me to that excellent and respectable prelate, the Bishop of St. Pole de Leon, which will be found to agree much more with the tenets of Dr. Douglas than with those of the titular Archbishop of Dublin. It is altogether a curious document, and worth perusing.

"Having communicated your Excellency's letter with its inclosure to his Majesty's confidential servants, I have the satisfaction to find that we are of the same opinion with respect to the judgment and propriety of the steps taken by your Excellency with regard to the criminals in need of the spiritual assistance of Catholic confessors. It appears to be absolutely essential that the priests who may be permitted to give their attendance in cases of this nature should be persons of respectability, and whose moral characters are known to be unimpeach'd.* They should, if possible, be likewise such as are conscientiously convinced that no criminal can be entitled to the benefit of absolution who is not fully determined to make all the atonement in his power by disclosing such wicked and malignant plots as he may be privy to, either against the Government of the country or the safety of individuals.

"With such a persuasion, and under the influence of such salutary exhortation, no great mischief can be apprehended from the admission of Catholic confessors to condemned criminals. Where such persuasion and exhortation is suppressed, or unavailable, the office of the priest is nothing more than a mockery, and the penitent cannot be considered as being in a state of mind proper to receive the benefit of the Rite, such as it is.

"With regard to what your Excellency suggests about the authorized presence of a third person at the time of receiving the confession and absolution by criminals under sentence of death, I confess that I cannot but consider it a very delicate subject. With the consent of the penitent there can be no question but that a third

* Note by the Lord Chancellor: "In the case of O'Coigley [Father O'Coigley, an Irish priest, was convicted of high treason at Maidstone in 1798 and hanged] at Maidstone, I believe the person called the Titular Bishop of London in this paper, but certainly some considerable member of that persuasion, recommended, at the desire of Government, a priest to attend him, and from that moment all information was lost. Lord Redesdale will remember this."—E.

person may be present at such confession and absolution, but if he objects to it it appears to me that to insist upon the intervention of another auditor, is, in fact, to deprive him of the benefit of such spiritual assistance as he requires, just as much as if the priest were altogether prohibited from seeing him.*

"CHARLES YORKE."

* * *

There is another interesting side issue to the story of the Insurrection. It deals with the action of the Duke of Leinster at Maynooth on the night of July 23, 1803. His Grace did not stand well with the Government. He was the brother of Lord Edward FitzGerald, the leader of the United Irishmen of 1798. He had opposed the Union, and Kildare, where his property was situated, and where his influence was predominant, was the most disloyal county in Ireland. Here is a letter he sent to the Viceroy, reporting the occurrences at Maynooth on the night of July 23:

"CARTON,
"*July* 24, 1803.

"MY LORD,

"It is with infinite concern that I am to inform your Excellency of a very extraordinary event that took place last night at Maynooth. The town had been alarmed in the course of the day by a report that the town was to be attacked by a set of people, and that they intended to stop the mail coach last night. As the report was so universal, and so much talked of that I thought it could not be intended, knowing that various reports were spread. Had they only mentioned the mail coach I should have informed the Post Office, but the report mentioned there was also to be a Rising in Dublin, but I did not think the reports came to me from good authority.

"However, before ten o'clock, just at dark, a number

* Note by the Lord Chancellor: "I think it very difficult to deny to the convict the assistance of the priest, of whom the best opinion can be formed. I am tolerably certain, however, as I understand the case of O'Coigley, that where a respectable opinion is formed the effect of the attendance is likely, possibly, to be the same, or nearly the same, as if any person had been received. But still I think, under all the circumstances, the assistance cannot be denied."—ELDON.

of people sallied out of the different publick-houses, better dressed, as I am informed, than the commonality of labourers, marched about the town, arm in arm. After some time they stopped a carriage, fired a pistol, and gave a huzza, and then all was quiet and no noise heard. They soon after parted, and the great part of them went off towards Salins. About thirty, they say, stayed to attack the mail coach, which, I understand, escaped by the coachman driving; that one of the guards is wounded. There certainly was not much firing, as I had people up all night watching. Indeed, I did not go to bed till daylight.

"There being no troops at Maynooth, I since understand they carried off two inhabitants with them, and several horses; that they went towards Kill on the great Munster road, where they expect to be joined by the people from the mountains. I should hope that your Excellency will be so good as to order a part of the Army to Maynooth, as I understand there are but very few at Kilcock."

By order of the Lord Lieutenant an inquiry was held at Maynooth, and the result is thus communicated by his Excellency to the Home Secretary, Charles Yorke:

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*August 29th*, 1803.

"MY DEAR CHARLES,

"You will receive by this mail an official letter enclosing a report from the Solicitor-General on the subject of the rising at Maynooth, on the evening of the 23rd of July, and the proceedings of the rebels in the county of Kildare at that time. I think it, however, necessary so far to explain the Solicitor-General's report as to say that no imputation has fallen on the Duke of Leinster of any previous knowledge of the Insurrection. It is, however, difficult to suppose that some few members of the College* were not acquainted with it.

"But though I have no belief that the Duke of Leinster had any previous knowledge of the intentions of the people at Maynooth, yet I am sorry to say that such has been the state of the county of Kildare since the Rebellion in 1798 as to require at all times the particular attention of

* The college for the training of the Irish priesthood at Maynooth.

Government, and that there is a more general and rooted spirit of disaffection in that county than in any other part of Ireland. This circumstance, which is very unfortunate on account of the vicinity of Kildare to the Metropolis, is in a great measure, if not entirely, to be attributed to the industry with which Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald corrupted the whole of the county; and to the impression which has been very generally conceived by the lower orders of people that the Duke of Leinster approved of this conduct, an idea which originated in the part taken by his brother, and which never has been counteracted by any decisive line of conduct on the part of his Grace.

"When it was first proposed by the magistrates to proclaim the county the Duke of Leinster declared he should set his face against it, but when it was distinctly explained to him that it was necessary to enforce the Insurrection Act in the counties near Dublin, he not only acquiesced in it, but signed the memorial and brought it to me himself; and afterwards attended the Council, and signed his name to the Proclamation. Indeed, so general was the opinion of the magistrates upon the subject that it would have been done at any rate; but it was better for the public, as well as for the Duke himself, that he took the part he did."

The Home Secretary sent this communication to the King, with the following note:

"Mr. Yorke most humbly presumes to submit the enclosed letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, received this day, and relating to the late seditious practices in the county of Kildare, for your Majesty's perusal."

"WHITEHALL,
"*September 2nd*, 1803."

His Majesty returned the letter with the following endorsement:

"It is impossible to be more delicate than the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on the subject of the Duke of Leinster, though Mr. Secretary Yorke must feel the extreme weakness of the Duke's whole conduct.—G. R."

On September 4 the Lord Lieutenant sent the following letter, marked "private and confidential," to the Home Secretary:

"I had yesterday a visit from the Duke of Leinster, who is much hurt at the reports which are circulating against him, in consequence of the examination of a person of the name of Collinson, son of the postmaster at Maynooth. The information was stated in a paper which I lately transmitted, and goes to the conduct of one of his Grace's servants, who is said to have told the rebels at Maynooth that if they would come to Carton the arms would be delivered to them, and that they would find supper on the table. The Duke said he must justify himself to the public; that he can no longer act as a magistrate in the county of Kildare, etc., etc. I advised him to do nothing hastily. That the informations given by those who are permitted to give information are not publickly known unless they are acted upon and the persons brought forward. The Solicitor-General's inquiry as to the affair at Maynooth went not only to facts relating to the attack on the mail coach, but to the plans of the rebels of which it was not supposed his Grace had previous knowledge. He added that he had endeavoured to do his duty as a magistrate, but that he would not fill the gaols. He proposed to converse with Lord Redesdale upon the subject, to which I of course assented.

"It is impossible exactly to know what the Duke of Leinster means, for he converses so much in detached sentences that he can be brought to no distinct point. I believe he means well, but he is so much guided by others and particularly by a Mr. Wogan Browne, who was rather implicated in the Rebellion, that his conduct is not only not useful to the public, but often embarrassing to the Government. His compromise with the people who attacked the mail coach at Maynooth on the 23rd July, and his receiving a few old arms and a pitchfork, are sufficient proofs of his want of judgment, firmness, and decision. His county is, however, proclaimed, and we shall act independently of any opinions he may entertain upon the subject."

CHAPTER VI

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF EMMET

THE Lord Lieutenant, in a "private and confidential" letter to Charles Yorke, relating the discovery of the writer of the letters to Emmet, says of John Philpot Curran:

"Wickham has seen him, and he professes entire ignorance of the connection between Emmet and his daughter, but I think he must decline being counsel for Emmet in a case in which his daughter may be implicated. It is a very extraordinary story, and strengthens the case against Emmet."

Curran threw up his brief for Emmet. He sent the prisoner the following cold, curt note:

"*Sept.* 10*th*, 1803.

"SIR,

"From the circumstances which you must suppose have come to my knowledge, you could not have been surprised at my intimation this morning to your agent that I could not act as your Counsel. I write this merely to suggest to you that if those circumstances be not brought forward by Crown, which from their humanity I hope will be suppressed, it cannot be of any advantage to you to disclose them to your agent or Counsel.

"(Signed), J. P. CURRAN.*

"ROBERT EMMET, ESQ."

The trial of the prisoner was consequently delayed, in order that other counsel might be instructed. Ultimately Leonard MacNally and Peter Burrowes were

* From "Ireland, Private and Secret, 1803" (Home Office Papers.)

retained. It was MacNally, counsel for Emmet, whose son was the prisoner's solicitor, that supplied the Irish Executive with the information about Emmet referred to in the following letter from Chief Secretary Wickham to R. Pole Carew of the Home Office:

"*Sept.* 14, 1803.

"Inclosed I send you by Lord Lieutenant's commands for Mr. Yorke's information two secret papers containing some curious particulars respecting Emmet. They come from a source upon which I can thoroughly depend. Emmet was brought up to-day to plead. His trial comes on on Monday. Counsellor Burton has refused to act for him from a motive of delicacy. Emmet has in consequence named Mr. Burrowes to be his Counsel. Mr. MacNally is the other.

"I must not omit mentioning that I have the strongest reason to believe that the person mentioned in the enclosure (marked No. 2) as having gone to France on the Tuesday after Emmet's arrest was specially instructed to use every means in his power to prevail upon the French Government to constitute the English prisoners now in France hostages for such persons as might be taken up by order of the Government here."*

The following are MacNally's communications:

"ENCLOSURE 1.

"*Secret.*

"*Sept.* 12*th*, 1803.

"Curran's refusing to act for Emmet will render him very unpopular; being assigned, the Party say he is bound to act. Emmet, I have it from his agent, received the account with perfect calmness, and without the least agitation wrote him a long letter. I expect there will be a motion on the subject this day in Court to assign other Counsel.

"But of what use can Counsel be when, as I understand, he will not controvert the charge by calling a single witness?

"Frank, the stockbroker of St. Andrew-street, says that on the 22nd July there were not less than six priests

* From Home Office Papers.

at his office wanting to exchange bank-notes for guineas under pretence of sending them to the North.

"Curran was cruelly agitated at the visit to his house; but speaks of the manner of doing it in very handsome terms. He also feels greatly obliged to Mr. Wickham and the Attorney-General."

"ENCLOSURE 2.

"*Secret.*

"*Sept. 12th*, 1803.

"Emmet appears deeply affected on account of the young lady whose letters are in the possession of Government. He says he offered before the Privy Council to plead guilty if they would suppress those letters, which they refused and required him to give information without mentioning names. That he declined this offer then; but proposed afterwards that if an accommodation was entered into whereby the lives of others could be saved, particularly of those condemned, he would require for himself only the suppression of the letters and stand his trial. This, he says, was also refused, and nothing would satisfy those he was before but individual information, which he declined untill he could see Mr. Curran his then Counsel.

"He prevailed on a turnkey, the same evening, to convey a letter to Miss S—— C——, telling her to put those letters she had in her possession out of the way, and to deny having ever written to him. This messenger was too late, and he was apprehended. He threw the letter, he thought, into the river, but he supposes it fell on the strand.

"On this subject his mind seems wholly bent, and cruelly afflicted. For his own personal safety he appears not to entertain an idea. He does not intend to call a single witness, nor to trouble any witness for the Crown with a cross-examination, unless they misrepresent facts.

"He expects that a person named Farrell, and another, who were made prisoners at the depot in Dirty Lane, with McCabe, will be witnesses against him.

"He received letters from France lately, but had not the cypher to make out the contents; but declares it never was his intention that France should have a footing in Ireland. I understand that a person went for France on the Tuesday after Emmet was taken, on board a neutral vessel from this port."

MacNally was wrong in his account of how Emmet's letter to Sarah Curran fell into the hands of the Executive. He simply repeated the story of the ill-luck of the turnkey, who was Emmet's messenger, which was told to the prisoner by the gaol authorities. But as to that the Government required no information from MacNally. What was valuable to them was his disclosure of the line of defence which Emmet intended to adopt. The Executive also had an earlier intimation than MacNally's of the letter which Emmet had written to Curran. It is a long letter, as MacNally describes it, and deeply interesting:

"I did not expect you to be my counsel: I nominated you becuse not to have done so might have appeared remarkable. Had Mr. —— been in town I did not even wish to have seen you, but as he was not I wrote to you to come to me at once. I know that I have done you very severe injury, much greater than I can atone for with my life. That atonement I did offer to make before the Privy Council, by pleading guilty if those documents were suppressed. I offered more. I offered, if I was permitted to consult some persons, and if they would consent to an accommodation for saving the lives of others, that I would only require for my part of it the suppression of those documents, and that I would abide the event of my own trial. This was also rejected, and nothing but individual information (with the exception of names) would be taken. My intention was not to leave the suppression of those documents to possibility, but to render it unnecessary for anyone to plead for me, by pleading guilty to the charge myself.

"The circumstances that I am now going to mention I do not state in my own justification. When I first addressed your daughter I expected that in another week my own fate would be decided. I knew that in case of success many others might look on me differently from what they did at that moment, but I speak with sincerity when I say that I never was anxious for situation or distinction myself, and I did not wish to be united to one who was. I spoke to your daughter neither expecting, nor, in fact, under those circumstances, wishing that there should be a return of attachment, but wishing

to judge of her dispositions—to know how far they might be not unfavourable or disengaged, and to know what foundation I might afterwards have to count on. I received no encouragement whatever. She told me she had no attachment for any person, nor did she seem likely to have any that could make her wish to quit you.

"I staid away till the time had elapsed when I found that the event to which I alluded was to be postponed indefinitely. I returned by a kind of infatuation, thinking that to myself only was I giving pleasure or pain. I perceived no progress of attachment on her part, nor anything in her conduct to distinguish me from a common acquaintance.

"Afterwards I had reason to suppose that discoveries were made, and that I should be obliged to quit the Kingdom immediately; and I came to make a renunciation of any approach to friendship that might have been formed. On that very day she herself spoke to me to discontinue my visits. I told her that it was my intention, and I mentioned the reason. I then for the first time found, when I was unfortunate, by the manner in which she was affected, that there was a return of affection, and that it was too late to retreat. My own apprehensions, also, I afterwards found were without cause, and I remained.

"There has been much culpability on my part in all this; but there has also been a great deal of that misfortune which seems uniformly to have accompanied me.

"That I have written to your daughter since an unfortunate event has taken place was an additional breach of propriety, for which I have suffered well. But I will candidly confess that I not only do not feel it to have been of the same extent, but that I consider it to have been unavoidable after what has passed; for though I will not attempt to justify in the smallest degree my former conduct, yet, when an attachment was once formed between us—and a sincerer one never did exist—I feel that, peculiarly circumstanced as I then was, to have left her uncertain of my situation would neither have weaned her affections nor lessened her anxiety; and looking upon her as one whom, if I had lived, I hoped to have had my partner for life, I did hold the removing of her anxiety above every other consideration. I would rather have had the affections of your

daughter in the back settlements of America, than the first situation this country could afford without them.

" I know not whether this will be any extenuation of my offence. I know not whether it will be any extenuation of it to know that if I had that situation in my power at this moment, I would relinquish it to devote my life to her happiness. I know not whether success would have blotted out the recollection of what I have done. But I know that a man with the coldness of death on him need be made to feel any other coldness, and that he may be spared any addition to the misery he feels, not for himself, but for those to whom he has left nothing but sorrow.

* * *

On Monday, September 19, 1803, Robert Emmet was arraigned for high treason in Green Street Court-house, before a Special Commission—at which Lord Norbury, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas (the " hanging judge " of '98), presided—and a jury of Dublin citizens. The Attorney-General (Standish O'Grady), the Solicitor-General (James McLelland), and William Conyngham Plunket, appeared for the Crown. The prisoner was defended by Leonard MacNally and Peter Burrowes. Witnesses were examined to prove that Emmet—as the Attorney-General expressed it—was " the origin, the life, and the soul " of the Insurrection. No evidence was produced for the defence. MacNally said the prisoner had no desire to take up the time of the Court by making a defence, and had instructed his counsel not to address the jury on his behalf. The death sentence —in Emmet's opinion—had already been pronounced at Dublin Castle. Though no witnesses for the defence had been called, Plunket replied on behalf of the Crown. In the course of his strenuous and eloquent resistance to the measure of the Union in the Irish House of Commons, Plunket had declared that if the Bill were carried he would fling his allegiance to the winds, and bring his children to the altar to swear eternal hostility to the Union. His gratuitous speech at the trial of Robert Emmet was intended by Plunket as a recantation of

these opinions, which, so far, had been an obstacle to his promotion. Ireland, he declared, was enjoying the blessings of a venerable Constitution, and growing rich and happy under it. At such a time an infamous conspiracy was formed for the separation of Ireland from Great Britain. "To sever the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland!" he exclaimed, and went on:

"Gentlemen, I should feel it a waste of words and of public time were I to talk of the frantic desperation of the plan of any man who speculates upon the dissolution of that Empire, whose glory and whose happiness depend upon its indissoluble connexion. But were it practicable to sever that connexion, to untie the links that bind us to the British Constitution, and to turn us adrift upon the turbulent ocean of revolution, who could answer for the existence of Ireland as an independent country for a year? God and nature have made the two countries essential to each other; let them cling to each other to the end of time, and their united affection and loyalty will be proof against the machinations of the world."

The jury, without leaving the box, found the prisoner guilty. "Prisoner at the bar," said the Clerk of the Crown, "have you anything to say why judgment of death and execution should not be awarded against you, according to law?" Yes, he had something to say to vindicate the principles for which his young life was about to be sacrificed, and he said it in one of the noblest speeches that have ever been delivered from the dock under the shadow of the scaffold. Emmet looked death in the face with the fortitude and serenity of twenty-five. He was young, and therefore indifferent to his fate. Being young, he desired to leave the world grandly, with flying colours. It was now half-past nine o'clock at night. The trial had begun at half-past nine o'clock in the morning. For twelve hours Emmet had stood in the dock. There was no interruption for refreshment, no interval for rest. The proceedings had been pushed on pitilessly by the judges to their grim and gruesome finish. A sprig of lavender, handed to the prisoner to

relieve the oppression of the heated atmosphere of the crowded court, was snatched away by his guards. It was feared it might contain poison. Unworthy suspicion! The hangman's halter had no degradation for that serene, indomitable young soul in the dock. So with exalted spirits Emmet delivered, in vindication of his policy, a deathless oration, which alone would have preserved his memory green in Ireland for all time. He spoke for an hour. His voice was clear and distinct, its cadences being modulated to suit the sentiments, and as he warmed to his address he moved rapidly but not ungracefully about the dock.

Perhaps the most remarkable passages in the speech are those in which the young revolutionary repelled the charge that he was an emissary of France, and that his object was to establish French power in Ireland. He said:

"Connexion with France was, indeed, intended, but only as far as mutual interest would sanction or require. Were they to assume any authority inconsistent with the purest independence of Ireland it would be the signal for their destruction. We sought their aid, and we sought it—as we had assurance we should obtain it—as auxiliaries in war, and allies in peace. Were the French to come as invaders or enemies, uninvited by the wishes of the people, I should oppose them to the utmost of my strength. Yes, my countrymen, I should advise you to meet them upon the beach, with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other. I would meet them with all the destructive fury of war. I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their boats before they had contaminated the soil of my country. If they succeeded in landing, and if forced to retire before superior discipline, I would dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass, and the last intrenchment of liberty should be my grave. What I could not do myself, if I should fall, I should leave as a last charge to my countrymen to accomplish; because I should feel conscious that life, even more than death, would be unprofitable when a foreign nation held my country in subjection. Reviewing the conduct of France towards other countries,

could we expect better towards us? No! Let not, then, any man attaint my memory by believing that I could have hoped to give freedom to my country by betraying the sacred cause of liberty, and committing it to the power of her most determined foe. Had I done so I had not deserved to live; and dying with such a weight upon my character, I had merited the honest execration of that country which gave me birth, and to which I would give freedom."

Here is the memorable peroration, answering to Burke's description of perfect oratory—"half poetry, half prose":

"I have but a few more words to say. I am going to my cold and silent grave—my lamp of life is nearly extinguished—my race is run—the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. I have but one request to ask at my departure from this world: it is the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph; for, as no man who knows my motives dare now vindicate them, let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them. Let them and me rest in obscurity and peace, and my tomb remain uninscribed, and my memory in oblivion, until other times and other men can do justice to my character. When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written. I have done."

Norbury sentenced him to be executed in Thomas Street—the scene of the Insurrection—the next afternoon. He passed for a wit, this judge. Yet he was a callous—indeed, a brutal—man. There are stories told of his unseasonable jests at the expense of men whom he was consigning to the gallows. "Give me a long day, my lord!" exclaimed one poor wretch as Norbury put on the black cap. "You shall have it, my boy," replied the judge, "for to-morrow is the 21st of June, the longest day of the year." But the pathos, the tragedy, of the present scene touched him deeply, and on concluding the sentence he burst into tears. As Emmet was being removed from the dock, his counsel, Leonard MacNally, flung his arms around him and kissed him on the

forehead. It was the kiss of a Judas! It is ever thus in the records of Irish conspiracy—the vilest treachery walks hand in hand with the noblest heroism. Surely, in the black record of human baseness there is no viler name than that of "Leonard MacNally the incorruptible."*

The Lord Lieutenant, writing that night from Dublin Castle a private letter to Charles Yorke, acquainting him of Emmet's conviction, says:

"It is a most fortunate circumstance that the evidence against this man was so complete, for singular as it may appear, though we were in possession of several letters and papers that were written by him, it was impossible to obtain proof of his handwriting. He seems to have practised the writing of different hands; and though he was educated at the College, and had resided so much in Dublin, there was no person to be found who could prove his handwriting in a legal manner."

The official despatch of the Viceroy to the Home Secretary was as follows:

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*Sept.* 20, 1803.

"SIR,

"The trial of Emmet, which was brought forward yesterday, terminated, as there was every reason to conclude, in a conviction upon the clearest and most satisfactory evidence; and it is universally admitted that a more complete case of treason was never stated in a court of justice.

"He produced no witnesses and made no defence, but after the verdict of guilty was pronounced by the jury he was permitted to address the Court before the passing

* Mr. Edward B. Fitton writes to me from Malvern, September 13, 1903: "My father was at a Dublin school when about six years old with Robert Emmet and Tom Moore, the poet. He always retained a great affection for Robert Emmet, who was a fellow-student at Trinity College, as well as an early school-mate. My father, with other members of the College Corps of Volunteers, was in court at Emmet's trial, and he and other students in uniform shook hands with the prisoner in the dock when the trial was over, and got into serious trouble for so-called disloyalty in having shaken hands with a convicted traitor while wearing the King's uniform."

of the sentence. He admitted the facts that had been proved, but disclaimed the character of a French agent, and intention of reducing his country under the subjection of France; but persisted in the opinion he had entertained and the principles in which he had been educated. He was more than once interrupted by the Judge, and was prevented from proceeding to the conclusion of his speech, which appeared rather calculated to excite the indignation than the pity of those who were present."

* * *

Chief Secretary Wickham, writing to Pole Carew of the Home Office about the trial, says:

"Mr. Yorke will have observed that the Attorney-General, when he gave in evidence such parts of the young lady's letter found upon Emmet as it was found *necessary* to produce, stated boldly that the letter from which the extract was made had been written by a *brother* conspirator. Unfortunately, a barrister of the name of Huband, who is said to have paid his addresses formerly to the young lady, recognised the handwriting when the letter was laid on the table."

Wickham adds:

"I ought to add that the discretion and ability of the law servants of the Crown is the subject of universal praise here. I hope you will have read Plunket's speech with attention. It is not so well given as the Attorney-General's, because of his rapid manner of speaking, which made it more difficult to follow him; but enough appears to satisfy you that it must have been a most masterly performance. There is, indeed, but one opinion on the subject."*

Nevertheless, the trial of Emmet casts a black shadow over the otherwise brilliant lustre of the Irish Bar. The end of the eighteenth century and the opening of the nineteenth is regarded as its most illustrious period. Surely, it is also its most infamous! In its ranks at that time were men of imperishable renown, and piti-

* From Home Office Papers.

able creatures, self-seeking and base. John Philpot Curran, cruel to his daughter because he thought her relations with Emmet would spoil his chance of promotion to the bench. William Conyngham Plunket, atoning for his opposition to the Union by gratuitously libelling Emmet in a speech to the jury. Leonard MacNally, betraying to the Government the compromising statements of his trustful and unsuspecting client. Each debased himself for preferment and pelf. What an ignoble trio! Truly, in Green Street Court-house, Dublin, on that September 19, 1803, honour, purity of motive, self-sacrifice, heroism, were to be found only in the dock.

* * *

Emmet was brought back to Kilmainham Gaol at midnight. He stayed up most of the night writing. He wrote for his brother, Thomas Addis Emmet, one of the leaders of the United Irishmen, and at the time an exile in Paris for his complicity in the Rebellion of 1798, a long account of his military plans for the seizure of Dublin—very coherent, very lucid—and a defence of his policy, wonderfully vigorous, wonderfully buoyant, for a youth with Death waiting at his elbow. Could there be a more striking proof of his amazing courage? This extraordinary document was sent by the Lord Lieutenant, not to the dear brother for whom it was written, but to the Home Secretary.

"Sir," says his Excellency in the official letter which accompanied it, "the enclosed paper, which contains an account of the plans and objects of the late conspiracy, as well as the means by which it was intended to make the attempt, being of the most important and interesting nature, I think it right to send you the original in the handwriting of Mr. Robert Emmet, in order that it may be placed among the Secret Papers of the Office."

This historical document is included in the volumes of Home Office Papers marked "Ireland, Private and Secret, 1803." I perused it with the intensest interest, and

marvelled at the fortitude and resolute purpose of the young conspirator in devoting the dreary night hours between his trial and execution to the preparation of this elaborate and detailed story of his plot and schemes, cogently composed, written in flowing characters, covering the four sides of a sheet of foolscap, with but few erasures or alterations.

Emmet also addressed a communication to "the Right Hon. W. Wickham, Chief Secretary for Ireland," acknowledging the delicacy with which he had been treated by the authorities, admitting the mildness of the existing Irish Administration, the interest of the Lord Lieutenant in the well-being and contentment of the people, but justifying, nevertheless, his attempt to overthrow the British Government in Ireland on the ground that its influence generally was baneful. The communication concludes with elaborate courtesy: "I have the honour to be, Sir, with the greatest respect, your most obedient servant, Robert Emmet." There was, besides, a pathetic epistle addressed to his friend and companion, the brother of her whom he so dearly loved, intended, surely, for her:

"MY DEAREST RICHARD,

"I find I have but a few hours to live; but if it was the last moment, and that the power of utterance was leaving me, I would thank you from the bottom of my heart for your generous expressions of affection and forgiveness to me. If there was anyone in the world in whose breast my death might be supposed not to stifle every spark of resentment, it might be you. I have deeply injured you—I have injured the happiness of a sister that you love, and who was formed to give happiness to everyone about her, instead of having her own mind a prey to affliction. Oh! Richard, I have no excuse to offer, but that I meant the reverse; I intended as much happiness for Sarah as the most ardent love could have given her I never did tell you how much I idolized her. It was not with a wild or unfounded passion, but it was an attachment increasing every hour, from an admiration of the purity of her mind and respect for her talents. I did dwell in secret

upon the prospect of our union. I did hope that success, while it afforded the opportunity of our union, might be a means of confirming an attachment which misfortune had called forth. I did not look to honours for myself—praise I would have asked from the lips of no man; but I would have wished to read in the glow of Sarah's countenance that her husband was respected.

"My love, Sarah! it was not thus that I thought to have requited your affection. I did hope to be a prop round which your affections might have clung, and which would never have been shaken; but a rude blast has snapped it, and they have fallen over a grave.

"This is no time for affliction. I have had public motives to sustain my mind, and I have not suffered it to sink; but there have been moments in my imprisonment when my mind was so sunk by grief on her account that death would have been a refuge. God bless you, my dearest Richard. I am obliged to leave off immediately.

"ROBERT EMMET."

In the morning came MacNally—the only "friend" permitted to visit Emmet—with bitter news. There was woe in his voice as he asked the youth would he like to see his mother. "Oh, what would I not give to see her!" exclaimed Emmet. "Take courage, Robert," said MacNally; "you will see her this night." As he pointed upward, Emmet knew that death had visited his sorrow-stricken mother—the mother who was so proud of him, the mother to whom he was so devoted—killed by the news of the doom of her son. "It is better so!" Emmet cried, bowing his head. Emmet also had a long conversation with MacNally about his plans and their failure, which MacNally, as the following letter shows, reported to Dublin Castle:

"*Most Secret and Important.*

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*25th Sept.*, 1803, 11 *p.m.*

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have just had a long conference with the person who was admitted to see Mr. Emmet, from whom you have already received some most important and

most confidential communications. I have selected what follows from many things that he told me, because they appeared more immediately to deserve Mr. Yorke's attention.

" Emmet advised him strongly on the day of his execution to get rid of all his property in paper, saying that the French would certainly come in force, and that he only wished his trial to have been put off for ten days, as he thought they would certainly be here within that time. He said that the plan recommended to Buoneparte by the Irish in Paris was to land in Galway Bay, but instead of pushing for Dublin to march to the North and secure Londonderry, taking a position with the county of Donegal behind them, and waiting there till they should receive, by small detachments, such a force as would enable them to threaten not only Ireland but Scotland. In this situation they trusted that the South would rise in the rear of the British Army.

" Emmet persisted in saying that he had only the command of the Dublin District, and that he was ignorant of the names of the Generals of the other Districts. This, however, cannot be true, for we know that he was in direct communication with Russell, who was to have commanded in the North, and that it was settled between them that Dublin and Belfast should rise the same night. It will also appear from a most curious and interesting paper, which the Lord Lieutenant will transmit to Mr. Yorke to-morrow, that he was in communication also with the Commanders of Wicklow, Wexford and Kildare. He persisted in saying that the money that had been expended in preparing the Insurrection of the 23rd July was entirely and only his own. It appears that he carryd off a part of the thousand pounds that was brought into the depot on Saturday afternoon (the 23rd July). The rest was pillaged either by his own people or the soldiers, except what was laid out in the purchase of from forty to fifty blunderbusses. It is certain that the prisoners are all miserably poor. Three and four guineas are given with their briefs. In the year 1798 thirty guineas were usually given to the leading Counsel.

" He persisted in saying that 300 men from Wexford had arrived, and were actually assembled on the Coal quay. He was told that this was scarcely possible, as not one of the pikes collected at Redmond's house on

the Coal quay had been used, and that the Wexford leaders had all left Dublin to avoid having anything to do with the business. He was reminded also that he had been grossly imposed on in many other instances. He admitted that he had in many instances been most cruelly deceived. He continued, however, to express his firm belief that the Wexford men were all there, and ready to join him. He says that the number of pikes collected at the great depot in Mass Lane* did not exceed four thousand.

"It was Emmet himself who engaged Mr. Wilson, the peace officer, the night of the Insurrection. His account differs materially from Wilson's; and yet when it is considered that the night was uncommonly dark the two stories may be reconciled. He says that when he saw Wilson coming on very gallantly he stepped forward himself, being then muffled up in his great-coat (exactly as Wilson described the man who wounded him), and ordered the pikemen to fall off to the right and left and make way for the firearms, at the same time he struck at Wilson with his sword, which was mistaken for a pike, and wounded him in the belly. Wilson immediately fired at him, but missed him. The watchmen fired some other shots, which were returned by Emmet's people, of whom he does not believe that one was materially hurt, nor did any of them throw down their pikes.

"He declared in the most solemn manner, and as a dying man, that not more than ten persons knew that the rising was fixed for the 23rd before the 21st or 22nd. He says that most of those who came up to town did not know of the day of the rising until the afternoon of the 23rd.

"Believe me to be, my dear Sir,
"Most faithfully yours,
"WM. WICKHAM.†

"REGINALD POLE CAREW, ESQ."

There are other most interesting communications from the Viceroy to the Home Secretary, dealing with the last hours of Emmet:

* The lane off Thomas Street, in which Emmet's principal depot was situated, is called at different times in those papers Mass Lane, Marshalsea Lane, and Bridgefoot Lane.

† From Home Office Papers.

"*Private and Confidential.*

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*Sept. 20th*, 1803.

"MY DEAR CHARLES,

"The trial and conviction of Emmet are of so much importance at the present moment that I have thought it fit to send you an account of some circumstances attending it in a letter which, tho' confidential, may be considered official. I was very anxious that he should have a fair chance of being brought to a proper temper of mind before his death; and it is possibly owing to this circumstance that Mr. Gamble, who is really a man of most humane and religious character, felt himself justified in administering the Sacrament to a person who professed a general repentance and sense of religion, tho' he did not admit the guilt of the crime for which he suffered.

"In his conversation with Mr. Gamble and Mr. Grant, Emmet admitted the lenity and moderation of the Government, and that he had experienced as much of it as he could possibly have expected in the situation in which he had been placed; that he felt there might be an appearance of inconsistency in expressing such a sentiment, after having been the leader in a conspiracy to overthrow the Government, but that as he disapproved of the latter (meaning, probably, the form of Government), the conduct of the individuals who administered it could make no difference in his opinion; and the more it was likely to conciliate the people the more desirous he would naturally be to lose no time in effecting his object.

"From the account Mr. Gamble and the other clergyman gave he seems to have been a perfect enthusiast; and his conduct proves that tho' he possessed talents his judgment was weak. He was anxious to disclaim any knowledge of the murders and assassinations of the 23rd of July, and solemnly declared to Mr. Gamble and Mr. Grant that, finding himself deserted by those he expected to join him, he had left Dublin before the murder of Lord Kilwarden. He assured those gentlemen that no more than ninety men came to the depot to receive arms, and that of these about eighteen or twenty left him very soon in consequence of an alarm; and that finding himself so entirely deserted he went away with

Dowdell and nine of his followers to a place beyond Rathfarnham, and from there to the mountains in Wicklow."

The enclosure to which the Lord Lieutenant refers in the above letter is to the following effect :

" Mr. Gamble, the clergyman who attends the prisoners in Newgate, visited him yesterday evening and again this morning in Kilmainham prison, in company with the Rev. Mr. Grant, a clergyman who resides at Island Bridge.

" In their report which they have made to me of what passed on their communication with Mr. Emmet, they state that though their conversation did not produce all the good they had hoped, it had, nevertheless, the effect of bringing him to a more calm and in some respects a better temper of mind than they had reason to expect from a person professing the principles by which they supposed him to be directed. They repeatedly urged to him those topics which were likely to bring him to a just feeling and acknowledgment of the crime for which he was to suffer, but were not successful in persuading him to abjure those principles by which he was actuated in his conspiracy to overthrow the Government.

" He disclaimed any intention of shedding blood, professed a total ignorance of the murder of Lord Kilwarden—before which he declares he had left Dublin—and also professed an aversion to the French. He declared that though persons professing his principles and acting in the cause in which he had been concerned were generally supposed to be Deists, that he was a Christian in the true sense of the word, that he had received the Sacrament, though not regularly and habitually, and that he wished to receive it then; that what he felt he felt sincerely, and would avow his principles in his last moments; that he was conscious of sins and wished to receive the Sacrament. The clergymen consented to join in prayer with him, and administered the Sacrament to him, considering him as a visionary enthusiast, and wishing him to bring his mind to a proper temper and sense of religion.

" On their way to the place of execution they conversed with him on the same topics, but could never persuade him to admit that he had been in the wrong. In answer

to their question whether if he had foreseen the blood that had been spilt in consequence of his attempt he would have persisted in his design to overthrow the Government, he observed that no one went to battle without being prepared for similar events, always considering his attempt as free from moral reproach, in consequence of what he conceived to be the goodness of the motive that produced it.

"At the place of execution he was desirous of addressing the people. He intended to have declared that he had never taken any oath but that of the United Irishmen, and by that oath he meant to abide. The clergymen who were present explained to him that an address to that effect might possibly produce tumult and bloodshed, and that it ought not to be permitted. He was therefore obliged to acquiesce, and did so without appearing to be disturbed or agitated.

"I enclose copies of two letters which he wrote this morning. One of the acts of kindness to which he particularly refers in his letter to Mr. Wickham was his being removed from the cell at Newgate, in which he had been placed after the sentence, to his former apartment at Kilmainham, as had been originally intended. He had alluded to this in his conversation with the clergymen, and admitted that the general conduct of those who administered the Government was likely to conciliate the people, though he did not approve the form of the Government, and the British connection, both of which he had been desirous to overthrow."

* * *

As Emmet emerged from Marshalsea Lane, on the evening of July 23, in his green and gold and white uniform, and with drawn sword, on his way, as he fondly hoped, to make Ireland a nation, straight before him, in Thomas Street, loomed St. Catherine's Church, a severe and gloomy edifice. In front of this Protestant place of worship a scaffold had been erected during the night for the execution of the conspirator. It was a simple and rude structure. A platform was made by laying a few planks across a number of empty barrels. From this platform rose two posts, 15 feet high, with another beam placed across them, from which hung a rope with a

running noose. Immediately beneath the cross-beam and halter was a single narrow plank, supported on two ledges, on which the condemned youth was to stand to be launched into eternity. The main platform, being about 6 feet from the ground, was ascended by a ladder. A large force of military, horse and foot, surrounded the scaffold. Outside their lines was a mass of sorrowing spectators.

Emmet, on alighting from the coach at the foot of the gallows, mounted alertly to the platform. In his demeanour there was not the slightest trace of fear. He wished to address the people, as was the custom at public executions. But in deference to the wishes of the clergymen—as the despatch of the Lord Lieutenant explains—he made no speech. One sentence only did he address to the weeping and moaning crowd, and that he uttered in a firm and far-reaching voice: "My friends, I die in peace, with sentiments of universal love and kindness towards all men."

Then Emmet stepped on to the single plank beneath the cross-beam. The masked executioner adjusted the rope round his neck. The thin, sad face of the youth was aflame with the glory of his sacrifice. But quickly its light—the light, surely, that never was on sea or land—was extinguished by the black cap which was drawn over his head by the hangman. In his pinioned hands was placed a handkerchief, the fall of which was to be the signal to the executioner to tilt over the plank which stood between him and death. "Are you ready, sir?" asked the hangman. "Not yet," was the reply. There was a momentary pause. The handkerchief still fluttered from Emmet's hands. "Are you ready, sir?" once again the executioner asked, and again came the reply: "Not yet." The youth was reluctant to loose his grasp of the handkerchief, and thus bring the agony of this most harrowing scene to its inevitable end. What was the reason? Up to that moment never had the courage, the enthusiasm of Emmet—his exaltation in the glorious triumph of death for a great cause—been so magnifi-

cently exemplified. Did his sublime fortitude collapse at the last moment? Was his soul seized on the verge of eternity with the unutterable magnitude of his sacrifice, with the hollowness of earthly ambition? Did the black cap, which shut out the world from his eyes, bring a rude awakening from his divine dream of being the emancipator of a nation? Did there come to him an overmastering craving to sit a little longer at the glorious banquet of life and taste of its sweet delights? How pleasant even the narrow monotonous round of daily duties would be with Sarah Curran, far away from the turmoil of revolutionary politics, in some remote, secluded spot on the American Continent! Did he feel that, after all, the world has no more precious prize than wife and children and a peaceful home? Or was it that a despairing rage took possession of him at the thought that the great joy which flamed in his blood—his passionate love for Ireland—was about to be quenched in him for evermore? Who can tell? He lifted his pinioned hands, still grasping the handkerchief, as if to pull off his head the accursed thing which shut out the people for whom he was sacrificing his young life. Perhaps he thought that if he could only see their tear-stained faces they would nerve him to suppress the desire to live that was surging in his blood, and to lose himself willingly in the repellent taciturnity of death, in the appalling mystery of eternal silence. It was said, afterwards, he had heard there was to be an attempt to rescue him. Perhaps he thought it was all but a hideous dream, and that if he could wait a little longer this horrible obsession would pass away. But there fell on his ears no noise of commotion in the crowd, no shouts of hope and encouragement—only the grief-laden, heart-breaking Irish *coine*, that most agonizing wail of hopeless sorrow.

"Are you ready, sir?" asks the hangman for the third time. But before the answer comes, before the handkerchief falls, the supports of the plank are kicked away, and Emmet is writhing at the end of a rope, in the

agonies of the most revolting and degrading of all deaths! In half an hour the still quivering body is cut down, and extended on a butcher's block, and from it the head is rudely hacked with a butcher's knife. The brutal fingers of the executioner grip its hair, and holding it up, bloody and dripping, exposing the waxen features and glazed eyes of the dishonoured thing to the moaning crowd, he exclaims, as he parades the front of the scaffold, "This is the head of a traitor!"

* * *

The Lord Lieutenant sent to the Home Secretary a copy of a letter, addressed to Thomas Addis Emmet and his wife, which Emmet wrote before setting out to his execution. That also was never delivered. It runs:

"MY DEAREST TOM AND JANE,

"I am just going to do my last duty to my country. It can be done as well on the scaffold as on the field. Do not give way to any weak feelings on my account, but rather encourage proud ones that I have possessed fortitude and tranquillity of mind to the last.

"God bless you and the young hopes that are growing up about you. May they be more fortunate than their uncle; but may they preserve as pure and ardent an attachment to their country as he has done. Give the watch to little Robert. He will not prize it the less for having been in the possession of two Roberts before him. I have one dying request to make to you. I was attached to Sarah Curran, the youngest daughter of your friend. I did hope to have had her my companion for life. I did hope that she would not only have constituted my happiness, but that her heart and understanding would have made her one of Jane's dearest friends. I know that Jane would have loved her on my account, and I feel also that had they been acquainted she must have loved her on her own. No one knew of the attachment till now, nor is it now generally known, therefore do not speak of it to others. She is living with her father and brother, but if these protectors should fall off and that no other should replace them, treat her as my wife and love her as a sister. God Almighty bless you all. Give my love to all my friends.

"ROBERT EMMET."

"The letter to his brother," says the Viceroy, "will not be forwarded, but the message respecting Miss Curran has been communicated to her father." John Philpot Curran's reply to the communication emphasizes still further the mean and despicable nature of the man. He writes to Marsden, the Under-Secretary:

"*Sept: 21st*, 1803.

"SIR,

"I have just received the honour of your letter with the extract enclosed by desire of his Excellency. I have again to offer to his Excellency my more than gratitude, the feelings of the strongest attachment and respect, for this new instance of considerate condescention. To you also, Sir, believe me, I am most affectionately grateful for the part that you have been so kind to take upon this unhappy occasion. Few would, I am well aware—perhaps few could—have known how to act in the same manner.

"As to the communication of the extract and the motive for doing so, I cannot answer them in the cold parade of official acknowledgment. I feel on the subject the warm and animated thanks of man to man; and these I presume to request that Lord Hardwicke and Mr. Wickham may be pleased to accept. It is, however, only justice to myself to say that even on the first falling of this unexpected blow, I had resolved, and so mentioned to Mr. Attorney-General, that if I found no actual guilt upon her, I would act with as much moderation as possible towards a poor creature that had once held the warmest place in my heart. I did even then recollect that there was a point to which nothing but actual turpitude, or the actual death of the parent, ought to make a child an orphan, but even had I then thought otherwise, I feel that this extract would have produced the effect it was intended to have and that I should think so now. I feel how I should shrink from the idea of letting her sink so low as to become the subject of a testamentary order of a miscreant who could labour by so foul means and under such odious circumstances to connect her with his infamy, and to acquire any posthumous interest in her person or her fate. Blotted, therefore, as she may irretrievably be from my society, or the place she once held in my affection, she must not go adrift. So far, at least, 'these

protectors will not fall off.' I should therefore, sir, wish for the suppression of this extract if no particular motive should have arisen for forwarding it to its destination.

"I shall avail myself of your kind permission to wait upon you in the course of the day, to pay my respects once more personally to you, if I shall be so fortunate as to find you at leisure.

"I have the honour to be, with very great respect,

"Your obliged servant,

"JOHN P. CURRAN."*

Sarah Curran was banished by her father. She found asylum with a respectable Quaker family, named Penrose, in Cork. But within two years of the execution of her lover she was married. It seems out of harmony with the fitness of things—a most prosaic and commonplace conclusion of a pitiful romance. But it was just the ending that Emmet would have wished. In his last letter to his brother he indirectly, but clearly, expresses the hope that his sweetheart should find a husband. To the last Emmet was enshrined in her tenderest memories, and her husband, a gallant soldier named Captain Sturgeon—nephew of the Marquis of Rockingham—only loved her the more dearly for her faithfulness to her shattered romance. She lived for a few years with her husband in Sicily, where his regiment was stationed. The following announcement in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1808 tells of her premature death, and the realization of her father's ambition for a judgeship: "May 5, 1808, at Hythe, in Kent, of a rapid decline, aged 26, Sarah, wife of Captain Henry Sturgeon, youngest daughter of the Right Hon. J. P. Curran, Master of the Rolls in Ireland." She was buried with her father's people in Newmarket, co. Cork.

* * *

By a cruel irony of fate the grave of Robert Emmet is shrouded in doubt and mystery. After his execution, Emmet's body was interred in the prison cemetery at Kilmainham, but is said to have been removed at night

* From Home Office Papers.

by some friends and buried with great secrecy in one of the Dublin city churchyards. In the confusion of the times these friends passed away without leaving any authentic information of the grave. In 1903 Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet of New York, grandson of Emmet's elder brother, conducted a search with a view to discovering the patriot's burial-place. The search was confined to three places which various traditions have long associated with the burial—the Emmet family vault in St. Peter's Churchyard; an uninscribed grave in St. Michan's Churchyard, which for years had been accepted by the majority of the Irish people as the authentic spot; and an uninscribed grave in Old Glasnevin Churchyard. The ecclesiastical authorities of the Church of Ireland readily granted the necessary permission, and elaborate excavations were made in these three churchyards. In St. Peter's Church a careful search failed to identify the family vault of the Emmets. The uninscribed grave in St. Michan's churchyard contained a skull and bones which were declared by the doctors who examined them to be those of an old man of tall stature, and Robert Emmet was neither old nor tall. In the grave in the parish churchyard of Glasnevin, where only a partial examination was possible, no remains of any sort were discerned. The riddle that has so long puzzled Irish historians and antiquaries is, therefore, still unsolved, and Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet's only conclusion was that by exclusion the claims of St. Peter's Church were increased.

CHAPTER VII

THE FATE OF THOMAS RUSSELL

THOMAS RUSSELL, Emmet's chief lieutenant, had gone to Ulster to raise the standard of revolt in the Protestant and Presbyterian counties of that province. Edward Baynes of Lisburn, writing to the Lord Lieutenant on July 25th, 1803, encloses a written copy of a printed proclamation, which, he says, was found the day before near Belfast at a place where a body of rebels had assembled on the night of Saturday the 23rd, with the intention, it was thought, of attacking Belfast. The proclamation is headed, "Thomas Russell, member of the Provisional Government, and General-in-Chief of the Northern District." It is dated "Headquarters, July 23rd, 1803."

"Men of Ireland," it begins, "once more in arms to assert the rights of mankind and liberate your country, you see by the secrecy with which this effort has been conducted, and by the multitudes who in all parts of Ireland are engaged in executing this great object, that your Provisional Government have acted wisely. You will see that in Dublin, in the West, in the North, and in the South, the blow has been struck at the same moment. Your Enemies can no more withstand than they could foresee this mighty exertion."

It goes on :

"Your valour is well known ; be as just and humane as you are brave, and then rely with confidence that God, with whom alone is victory, will crown you with success.

"The General orders that hostages shall be seized in all quarters; and hereby apprizes the English Commanders that any outrage contrary to the acknowledged laws of *War* and of *Morality* shall be retaliated in the severest manner; and he further makes known that such Irish as, in ten days from the date of this, are found in arms against their country, shall be treated as *rebels*, committed for *trial*, and their properties *confiscated;* but all men behaving peaceably shall be under the protection of the laws."

On the same day, July 25, 1803, "Belfast," the spy, writes as follows to Marsden, the Under Secretary:

"SIR,

"Yours I received regularly on Saturday evening. I presume by this time you find my statements true. Metcalf was yesterday in town, and this morning; but since has not been seen. I apprehend he is gone to the country. I am informed that only the parts of the county Down which I have already mentioned will act, and particularly Loughlin Island. Metcalf I have not since seen; but his two particular companions—William Carroll, a butcher, and Nevin Whitefield, a shoemaker, were with me a considerable time last night. From these I understand that the Rising was to take place this night or to-morrow at farthest; but that all would be ruled and governed by the attack upon Dublin.

"I reproached Metcalf before those for not calling on me. They told me he was so employed from one to the other place that he had not time, and that they looked upon me as too cautious a person, and consequently not fit for this attack. They expressed great desire that I would become more active, and that they would rather have either of my brothers, as they conceived them more desperate, but that I would always be looked up to. Finding I was likely to lose a regular communication I sent my younger brother (who has a great influence with the Defenders) to Metcalf on Saturday evening, and he by his direction and with my approbation left this to command the Malone boys. He remained out amongst them all night; but there being no appearance of a general Rising, and not knowing from whom they were to get further orders, returned early yesterday morning. He has since been in search of Metcalf, but can't find him.

Metcalf speaks very freely to this lad, for, indeed, I am sorry to say he is too determined a Patriot. He is to go out if any Rising takes place, so that I'll be able to know everything that may happen. They look much to the non-arrival of the mail coach; and this will govern their conduct.

"A Mr. John Templeton of Malone, although not suspected, will (if not already) be a very active person, particularly in preparing plans for the military operations of the rebels. He is a most sincere friend of Russell's, and was on the last occasion the principal planner of attack, etc. There are many more whom I shall point out when you begin the arrests. All those whom heretofore I have returned to you in and about Dublin, no doubt by this you find principals. My elder brother is also here, and of course will join the rebel army, and will no doubt communicate with me. At present he is not concerned.

"The people in general seem all at a loss. Although in many parts anxious for a Rising, yet they can't see how it is to be effected, having no system amongst them. Arms they have but few. I have under my own eye, contiguous to my house, as I am told, a knowledge of a quantity of pikes concealed since the last Rebellion. These I shall take care of."

On July 26, 1803, "Belfast" writes:

"SIR,

"I wrote you last night, and I now write to acquaint you of an interview I had to-day with Metcalf, who came to me. He seemed much dejected and indeed entirely disappointed, so much so from his appearance that I think he is giving information. He told me Russell expected the county Down to have risen with him on Saturday night, but he was disappointed, and that they intended to attack Belfast by the way I pointed out, that is from Castlereagh Hill across the Lagan river, and up the Mole at the rear of the Linen Hall. He excused himself in not calling on me, and said Dublin would again and again be attacked by a strong determined body, and no doubt this night. Said he would leave town and go into the county Down, and if a Rising would take place there to-night he would send me word.

"Russell was now he said in the county Antrim, and to-night they would attempt something. Russell wished

to take Downpatrick, and for this purpose lost his time by going too far into the county Down. The other General is not Emmet, but Hamilton. He is from county Donegal, who is married to Russell's neice, and was in the French Army for some time. Hamilton was to command Antrim, and Russell Down. Emmet he tells me is commanding in Dublin."

" Excuse this," he says in conclusion; " I am surrounded with persons." His conjecture that Metcalf was giving information to the local authorities was unfounded. In another report, dated July 28, he says the military are searching for Metcalf. " He is not giving information, as I thought. I have no doubt if taken but he will develope the whole plan. No doubt he is in full possession of it."

* * *

The mission of Russell to the North was a complete failure. What exactly happened is fully and graphically described in a letter from the Solicitor-General, James McClelland, from Carrickfergus—a town near Belfast—to Marsden, dated August 9, 1803. The Under-Secretary sent the letter to the Viceroy with the written comment, " Very satisfactory." Here is the communication :

" Since my arrival in this country I have taken much pains to acquire the most accurate information of the state of it ; and have endeavoured particularly to ascertain how Russell and his emissaries were received by the people who were formerly disaffected. And I am happy to state that the result of my inquiries has been perfectly satisfactory. In every instance where Russell endeavoured to collect a numerous meeting of the people, or to incite them to join him, he has totally failed.

" The first place where he endeavoured to collect the people was at Carmoney, situate between this town and Belfast, a place remarkable in the year 1798 for the disaffection of its inhabitants. The meeting consisted of but eleven or twelve, eight of whom were strangers, and unknown to the inhabitants of the place. The three or four of the inhabitants who attended the meeting declined Russell's entreaties to join him, at which he expressed

great indignation, and suddenly left that part of the country. This information was communicated next day to a gentleman of the neighbourhood by a person present at the meeting, and was stated to me by that gentleman.

" The next place where Russell attempted to convene a meeting was at Broughshane, which was intended to have been a meeting of all his friends in the county, and considerable pains were taken for that purpose. However, the meeting did not consist of more than fifty, and of that number a great proportion were strangers, who appeared to be the agents employed by Russell in distributing his proclamations, etc. The people of this country who attended the meeting were principally of the very lowest orders in Society. A few farmers did attend from curiosity, as it is alleged.

" Russell appeared dressed in a very splendid green uniform. He urged the people strongly to take up arms, promising them assistance from every part in this kingdom, and declaring he was so confident of success that if five hundred joined him he would publicly appear with them in arms. His proposal was not acceded to, at which he expressed great surprise and indignation. He returned from the meeting to a cabin in the neighbourhood, changed his uniform for a very shabby dress, and suddenly left that part of the country. This information I received from the quarter, and I believe it may be strictly relied on.

" The only description of people who are at all inclined to join Russell are the lowest orders of the Catholicks. Their clergy and the higher orders are generally considered here as loyal. This opinion with respect to the Catholicks here is believed by all ranks of Protestants, and has, I am confident, operated powerfully on the minds of many of the Presbyterians, who from former habits might otherwise have been still adverse to the Government of the country.

" A considerable number of persons have been arrested, and are in the custody of the Military at Belfast. I have been endeavouring to get the charges against them reduced into regular informations on oath ; but so far as I have gone I have found nothing but suspicion against the prisoners, which fully justifies the detention of them on grounds of precaution, yet would not enable the Crown to prosecute them with effect. There are two exceptions to this general observation, but the evidence

against the two persons I allude to cannot at present be brought forward with advantage, as they cannot be tried without bringing forward an informer who by remaining concealed may be of further use."

McClelland also visited Down, and in his report declared that his inquiry had satisfied him of "the general loyalty" of that county. He writes:

"It appears that Russell in the latter end of July determined to make an effort to raise an insurrection in the county of Down. For that purpose he summoned a meeting near Belfast, about the 19th or 20th of July, of all those leaders he could depend on. But six or seven attended him, and all of them men in low situations and desperate circumstances. It appears that they despaired on that consultation of exciting any Protestants to rebellion, and the only recourse they conceived left to them was to attempt tempering with the inhabitants of Loughlin Island, who were almost all Papists, and discontented with some Orange societies in their neighbourhood. That attempt was made by Russell and all his associates. For two days they continued in the parish, using every exertion to excite a rebellion, in which he completely failed, having been only able to assemble seven persons on the 23rd July at the place appointed for the rebels to meet.

"It appears he endeavoured to work on the religious prejudices of the Papists against the Orangemen, but failed; and some of the people told him that Government had protected them by prosecuting the Orangemen whenever they committed any outrage, and mentioned to him the prosecution against some Orangemen which I had lately carried on at Downpatrick and succeeded in; and at length he was actually turned out of the house (in the evening of the 23rd of July) where he had principally endeavoured to excite to rebellion the persons summoned to meet him on that day. On the whole, I think the present state of the county of Down *safe* and *satisfactory*."

* * *

Meanwhile, some characteristic letters of complaint from Lord Massareene were received by the Lord Lieu-

tenant, which illustrate the jealousies and feuds of county magnates :

"BELFAST,
"*August* 10*th*, 1803.

"MY LORD,

"I had the honor of writing to your Excellency four different letters within the last month. To none of which has your Lordship thought it necessary to give any answer. In one of my letters I requested you would have the goodness, my Lord, to order one of your secretaries just to mention to me whether your Lordship ***had*** or had ***not*** received my letters, but still (as before) no answer, but a perfect silence. Without being in the least unreasonable, my Lord, one may be a little astonished at all this, the more so as I have always endeavoured to trouble your Excellency as little as possible on trifling matters.

"Now, my Lord, with the frankness of a soldier (the only quality Government has been pleas'd to leave me in) I must add that I plainly see that the cabal which has eternally pursued me has found its way ***even into the Castle.*** From Lord Hardwicke, certainly, I should not have experienced the like was he left to himself, to his own candor, to his own honor, to his own liberality. You, certainly, my Lord, possess virtues which, methinks, should seem to secure me from any such occurrences. But artful enemies, and virulent ones, may bias the generous mind sometimes, if they possess its confidence.

But this prelude, to be sure, is a long one, and possibly may be a tiresome one. I'd fain hope not, tho'. But now, my Lord, to proceed to other matters. Having conducted some prisoners (sad miscreants) to Belfast, I learn'd (judge, my Lord, of my astonishment) that a Commission to raise 100 men—*i.e.*, 80 infantry and 20 cavalry—had actually been made out to a man named Thompson, a farmer and cloth merchant, living at Green Mount, about a short mile from Antrim ; and that he had actually got orders to have arms, etc., etc., for them. Well, my Lord, this man your Lordship may be told is naturaliz'd a *Dane.* You may also be told that he and all his family never were, in the least, of the Loyal party, but on the contrary.

"Well, in some of my letters I solicited and earnestly

requested your permission to raise 250 or 300 men as a legion to which I would give my name, assuring you, my Lord, that *that* would suffice to guard Antrim and vicinity. *No answer!* But Farmer Thompson comes to Dublin, and *Veni, vidi, vici.* He or his partisans (my enemies, doubtless), and at once no sooner said than done. He obtains a *corps* of 100 men, arms, etc., etc. Bravo, my Lord!

"Some time ago, about a month, I was order'd to recruit 25 men to augment my *corps.* In a trice I had them complete. Colonel Littlehales immediately sends me word that orders were issued to the ordnance officers to send arms and accoutrements for these men. But what? *Vox et præterea nihil,* my Lord. No arms, no pay, and no clothing! Good G—d, is that shameful or not, and whose the shame? Let the world pronounce.

"Your Excellency surely never ordered all this from yourself. Is there a loyal man would serve with this fellow Thompson? My Lord, I am so amazed that I can scarcely believe my eyes and ears. Who, in the name of all that is wonderful, could dare to advise you, my Lord, to this affair? Gracious G—d, surely my Lord Hardwicke does not wish to arm all the rascals and croppies in the country! No, my Lord, no; that's impossible; it cannot be supposed. Why, then, my Lord, say, in the name of G—d, whether you will or will not grant *me* to augment my corps to a little legion, or whether you will or will not grant me a single man. For the country's sake, for loyalty's sake, for the King's sake, for Government's sake, and for G—d's sake, do, my good Lord, countermand this order, and as you wish for success to his Majesty's cause, stop this most erroneous measure.

"You can easily say that you do not want any more at present; that the country is sufficiently garrisoned, etc., etc., etc. Your Lordship can never be embarrassed to find excuses. But as you are a noble friend to the King and his cause, stop without delay this pernicious measure, and a most pernicious one it is, G—d knows. Then, my Lord, if you will grant me an order for a legion, it shall be executed, as shall all your orders, most punctually.

"What would old George the 2nd say (who was a profound military authority), if alive and was to see a noble-

man, descended from a line of loyal ancestry, who has expended fortune and time to support the cause of Government, who has fought and expos'd his blood, his bones, and his life, for his King, abandon'd, left aside, and a puppy, croppy farmer and cloth bleacher promoted to a military command ?

" Here let me close the horrid but true picture, and assure you, my Lord, of the confidence with which I have the honor to be, my Lord, your Excellency's obedient and most humble servant,

" MASSAREENE."

* * *

Russell, after his failure in the North, returned to Dublin, with the object of organizing an attempt to rescue Emmet, and was in hiding in a house in Parliament Street, under the very shadow of the Castle. He was discovered and arrested on September 9, 1803. The Lord Lieutenant thus conveys the news to the Home Secretary :

" We have taken Russell. He was at a house in Parliament Street, and in consequence of intelligence which Marsden received this morning of a man being concealed there who was not known, Major Sirr went to his room, up three pair of stairs ; and after saying his name was Harrison—which is the name of the gunsmith's wife at whose house he lodged—he pulled a pistol from his breast, pointed it at Major Sirr, who seized him, and called in the person who attended him. Russell does not deny who he is, and declares himself as ready to dye on the scaffold as in the field."

The prisoner was lodged in Kilmainham Gaol, where he was seen by Leonard MacNally, who sent to the Castle the following report of the conversation :

" I stated to him that I was apprehensive the disturbances of this country arose from religious animosities of Roman Catholics towards the Protestants. This he attempted to deny, but he admitted the murders committed at Scullabogue,* and which he defended by saying

* During the Rebellion of 1798, in Wexford a barn at Scullabogue, in which a number of Protestants were confined, was set on fire by some retreating rebels, and the prisoners burnt to death or shot.

that they were goaded to those excesses by the ravishings, house-burnings, tortures, etc., etc.

" He stated that at this moment there were as many tears shedding for Emmet as would bathe him, and that he would be considered by the people as a martyr ; and that if ever the French landed, when the people could rise they would certainly revenge the deaths of all persons who had been executed.

" He mentioned, let the people's grievances be redressed, and the Government will have nothing to dread from invasion. Assimilate Ireland and England as much as possible ; let them appear as sisters, and not allow one to be the oppressor. I here told him every step to render both countries alike was now the object. He said when that would be accomplished all would be well. He very frequently, during our conversation, expressed the necessity of rendering the lower orders of the people of this country more comfortable, which if done it would be impossible (he believed) for any set of men to urge them to rise.

" I stated to him that it was really shocking to find that a person who was this day executed could possibly, at so awful a moment, think of setting forth or framing a notorious falsehood, the certainty of which I was fully convinced of by the positive assurances of Emmet. I told him that the person attempted to save his life by these falsehoods, who stated that the Insurrection was aided personally by four French Generals. Russell reprobated this conduct much, and implored God to forgive him, and said I might rely on what Mr. Emmet stated ; and that everyone must know what the unfortunate man mentioned must be false. He suddenly asked, Was it Redmond ?—whom he said he did not know, and that his assertion was not at all founded.

" He spoke much on the situation of the people of this country. I asked him what would quiet them completely ? He answered, take off the tythes, the taxes, and prevent the landlords' oppression. He talk'd of the leases not being granted in perpetuity. He said one matter in this country was alone sufficient to alienate the majority of the people—their paying the Church Establishment, which was complained of by the Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians. I asked him did he mean that the Church Establishment should not be sup-

ported? He said he meant it should, but let the clergy be paid out of the Treasury, and that a great many of the expenses might well be dispensed with.

"He again nearly recapitulated all our former conversation with much anxiety, at the same time very cautious lest he might be overheard by any other person."*

* * *

The Lord Lieutenant, writing to the Home Secretary on September 24, 1803, states that a Special Commission, consisting of Baron George and Mr. Justice Osborne, had been appointed "to clear the gaols" of the counties of Down and Antrim. His Excellency says:

"Upon fully considering all the circumstances attending the case of Thomas Russell, who assumed in the North the character of a General Officer of the rebel army, I have thought it best to order that he should be tried before this Commission. He might, it is true, have been indicted in Dublin under the Act of 1798 for returning to Ireland, after having been pardoned on condition of banishment; but considering the magnitude of his treasons lately committed, and how great an object it is to show how successfully they were exposed and defeated, and also the strong desire expressed by several gentlemen of the North to have him tried where the example of his execution would have the greatest effect, I have preferred sending him to the North to proceeding against him as an exiled traitor.

"Should it, however, happen that the evidence of his guilt in the North should not be sufficient to convict him (of which, however, I am informed there can be little doubt), he may equally be tried there or here for the offence of being found at large in the country."

Russell was accordingly conveyed to Downpatrick for trial. Three days before his trial he gave to Dr. Trevor of Kilmainham, who accompanied him to Downpatrick, a remarkable paper, which he desired should be forwarded to the Irish Government. Trevor, in his letter to William

* From "Ireland, Private and Secret, 1803." (Home Office Papers.)

Wickham, Chief Secretary, dated "Downpatrick, 18th October, 1803," says:

"SIR,

"This day Mr. Russell handed me the enclosed paper, with a variety of comments, and stated that he could bring forward many proofs of the necessity of the latter part of his paper. He mentioned that it was evident that you and the Lord Chancellor are quieting the country by such means as have not been adopted by any other Administration, which was felt by those persons with whom he (Russell) acted. He added that he respects your character most highly; that there had been more effectual steps taken during your residence in Ireland to quiet this country than there had been for a series of years before. He said that, of course, Government know how to keep their own secrets, and that he looked on me as a faithful friend of Government. He was convinced from the state of the minds of the country gentlemen it would be necessary that such a paper as the enclosed should not be known as coming from him. He this day appeared anxious relative to the three days after his conviction, and said that he would make it appear to the Solicitor-General that his paper required that time.

"He has not as yet mentioned a word relative to his brother, and I have thought it best not to speak to him on it lest he might suppose I was pressing for any other object than the real one you intend towards his brother.

"His spirits seem to be the same as when in Kilmainham prison. At the same time I can observe much anxiety about him. The person who has the immediate charge of the prison while Russell remains there is a Captain Gordon, who mentioned to me that Russell noticed the inclemency of the weather, and said it was severe weather for duty, but he wished himself in the creek of a rock. This I consider as sounding Capt. Gordon under the idea of an escape. I conclude so on account of the plans he had in view while he was in Kilmainham jail. I have mentioned this circumstance to the Solicitor-General, who will take the necessary steps."

Russell's paper, which is dated "Downpatrick, October 17th, 1803," states that the grievances which principally affected the Irish people were: "1st, the want of sovereignty in its Government; 2nd, the tenures

of land; 3rd, taxes; 4th, the mode of administering the laws." "The first," he says, "is in the present state out of the question, though it ultimately includes all the others, and its want is more generally felt than is supposed." With respect to the second grievance, the land, he writes:

"The second by the avarice of the land proprietors keeps the people in a state of beggary, and consequent discontent. I mean a great body of the people, and even in the North which by manufacture is wealthier than the rest of Ireland, it is felt by the mass as an intolerable grievance, which they would run great risques to remedy. I shall not consider the effect this has on the prosperity of the State, but on individuals, *i.e.*, the whole peasantry and poor of the nation, who, as I before stated, are not an ignorant race.

"I suppose it will be vain to expect any remedy for this, as the common objection will be made that land is private property. But land is a property different from all others. All other property is derived from it; all other property has a terminable value; but land will be the same 10,000 years hence as now, should the Creator continue it so long. Monopoly of land is, as everything is derived from it, the greatest evil. The Jews, whose laws were given from above, alone made this distinction. Land could not be sold for longer than seventy years. It then reverted back to the old family, and its accumulation was thus prevented. All other property could be sold for ever. The way lands are held makes the people slaves to the landlords. They are too poor to emigrate, and have no way left but to submit or starve. I cannot see why a law should not be made as to the length of leases, as well as for any other purpose; and it might be so managed as the poor should benefit by it, and yet the rich not lose."

With regard to taxes, he complained most of the oppression of "tythes," which were imposed on the Catholics for the support of the Established Church.* "If the Government choose an Establishment," he says, "let them pay the parsons from their Treasury or otherwise,

* Tithes were not abolished until 1837, when the Tithe Commutation Act of the Melbourne Government reduced them by 30 per cent., and made them a rent-charge on the landlords.

as they think fit." Dealing with the administration of the laws, he pointed out that the magistrates, from their uncontrolled powers of punishment, were often local tyrants. He says in conclusion:

"I do think Government would do well to appoint magistrates, such as they could depend on, with salaries, through the country; and I am sure that if they acted with common justice they would be esteemed by the people a blessing, and the expense most cheerfully paid.* I know that in many, many cases the people do look to the Military officers of England for protection from the oppressions of the gentry, and I do most earnestly, in the name of humanity, exhort that they may be restrained. What I have now said is in the hopes that some good may arise. I think I know the country, and so long as the present system lasts, I trust in God it will be governed with an attention to the principles of justice and mercy. My own opinion as to the connexion of the countries is not now in point, though I shall reiterate what I said before that their interests are now separate, but so long as Providence continues the present Power, its interests, as well as that of the people, requires that the poor should be attended to, and that clemency, which never destroyed a Government, should be shewn. God governs by mercy; let not man attempt it by severity."

* * *

Russell was found guilty of high treason by a jury of County Down farmers. It is stated that the prisoner said he was aware that six of the jurors, whom he had known personally, had taken the oath of the United Irishmen. He was publicly executed at Downpatrick on October 21, the day after his conviction.

Chief Secretary Wickham, writing from Dublin Castle on October 24, 1803, to Pole Carew of the Home Office, says:

"Mr. Yorke will perhaps be surprised at receiving no account of Russell's execution. The fact is that nobody thought it worth while to mention it, tho' we have re-

* The present system of stipendiary magistrates was established by William Drummond, Under-Secretary for Ireland to the Melbourne Administration, 1835-1840.

ceived several communications from the North since it took place. He behaved with firmness and propriety.

"He earnestly entreated that a few days might be granted him for the purpose of finishing a *religious* work, in the writing of which he said he was engaged; on this condition, provided also that the lives of *all* his accomplices in the prisons of Down and Antrim should be spared, he offered to make a full disclosure of the plans of the disaffected, without mentioning any names. It was thought proper to decline this offer, on the ground that unless he consented to give up the names of his accomplices very little benefit could be derived from any disclosure it would be in his power to make.

"It was observed to him that in asking for further time he was evidently looking to the arrival of the French before his execution could take place; which he indiscreetly admitted, saying that much blood would be saved should they arrive in time to prevent his being put to death."*

Russell was buried in the churchyard at Downpatrick, where moulders the dust of the three great Irish saints, St. Patrick, St. Brigid, and St. Columbkille. Over the spot is a plain stone with the simple inscription: "The grave of Thomas Russell."

* * *

Lord Massereene thus continued to worry the Viceroy with his grievances:

"*October 17th*, 1803.

"My Lord,

"It probably would be useless (and certainly somewhat importunate, at a time when your Excellency must necessarily have much important business to occupy your mind) were I to expatiate upon my own private concerns. I will, then, only request your permission, my Lord, to observe that when I had the honor of a private audience from your Excellency, I mentioned the dreadful state of this country, you could not imagine that things were so bad as I represented them. I declar'd at the same time that I wish'd heartily to be mistaken; but unless I was very eminently so that things were at the height of desperation. Unfortunately, most unfortu-

* From Home Office Papers.

nately, indeed, poor Lord Kilwarden, etc., etc., etc., evinc'd me, alas! but too true a prophet. Well, my Lord, no more on that head.

"But, my Lord, I requested a large augmentation of my corps, and your permission to raise a legion of 200, 300 or more men; to which, my Lord, your Excellency did not think proper to give any answer, or any attention. That my military conduct and attachment to my King and his Government, and my indefatigable attention to their service for seven years, merit some approbation, is of sufficient notoriety. I think, my Lord, I can say that without any presumption. Let me add, if you please, my Lord, that in my humble opinion to give a large respectable military corps to Noblemen, *real gentlemen*,—officers on whose loyalty and attachment Government can depend—I say, my Lord, to give corps to such methinks would seem sounder policy than to raise new corps and give them,—to whom?—men you know not, men unknown, clothmakers, clergymen, etc., etc., etc. But your Excellency thinks otherwise, and your will, to be sure, must be done.

"Several names I had cautioned your Excellency against—Clarke's, Ledlie's, Macartney's, etc., etc.—were in the list. I gave it to you, my Lord, with my own hand; and immediately after, to convince me of the attention with which you honour'd my information—oh, strange to tell!—you actually, my Lord, gave a corps to Macartney, the Vicar of Antrim,* of which he now, to the no small amusement of the public, is positively captain. He now appears in the quadruple capacity of Doctor of Laws, Vicar of the Church, Justice of the Peace, and *Military Captain*. Cereberus had but three heads, but Macartney has four! The country is on the titter, and, in faith, well they may, my Lord. Another corps is given to one Robert Thompson, a merchant, naturalised a Dane. (Curious enough you will own, my Lord, but so it is.)

"Whilst all this takes place, no legion is given to me, but an actual refusal to every article or thing I ask for, or propose. I declare, my Lord, I have sometimes thought that it would have been what is called *a good list* if I had

* This is the Dr. Macartney who claimed Church preferment for his son on account of political services rendered in connection with the Trinity College Visitation in 1798. See Book I., "Those Embarrassing Union Engagements."

ask'd for no corps to myself, and had strenuously recommended Messrs. Macartney, Thompson, Ledlie, Clarke, etc., etc., etc.; for probably then, my Lord,—to judge analogically of the future by the past—my real wishes would have been granted.

"I have a great respect for Lord Hardwicke. The great Lord Hardwicke and my father had the same for each other, in better times than these. But, my Lord, I speak matter of fact, and my reasoning will, perhaps, stand the test of examination. Why Government should wish to return nothing but humiliation for my zeal, attachment and services, I protest, must appear most unaccountable to any unprejudiced man on earth. But the Cabal, the never resting omnipotent Cabal, has certainly found its way into the Castle. The good, the kind Lord Hardwicke, tho' of stern wisdom and discernment, has not yet been able to prevent its dreadful effects, unfortunately for me, most unfortunately, indeed. I beseech again, once more, my good Lord, to have this legion, and not to be left in this subaltern state,—a strange state for a nobleman who has deserv'd so much otherwise from his King and his Government.

"I have the honor to be, my Lord, your Excellency's most humble and obedient servant,

"MASSEREENE,
"*Only Captain of Yeomen.*"

At last, on October 27, 1803, the Lord Lieutenant replied to Massereene's letters. His Excellency was much hurt that the noble Lord should think no attention had been given to his requests.

"With respect to the very numerous corps which your Lordship proposed to raise," continues Hardwicke, "though it certainly afforded a strong proof of your loyalty and publick spirit, yet in considering the propriety of so large an addition to the Yeomanry force in a particular part of the country, it was necessary to determine the question on general grounds, however desirous I might be—as I certainly was—to gratify your Lordship's wishes."

Dr. Macartney obtained his corps "on the expressed recommendation of two gentlemen of approved loyalty, one of them a general officer in his Majesty's service";

and as for Mr. Thompson, he was "a gentleman of considerable property and respectable connexions, and the report of his corps is very favourable." The Lord Lieutenant assured Massereene, in conclusion, that there was no disposition at Dublin Castle to treat him with any want of respect or inattention.

Massereene's retort was the following extraordinary communication:

"My Lord,

"I must inform your Excellency of an atrocious affair which took place this night in Antrim. The country being in a perfect state of rebellion, insurrection, etc., etc., I conceiv'd it to be prudent (especially as this town is threaten'd to be attack'd by the miscreant United Men) to place a small piquet guard of two men at the different avenues by which the town could be vulnerable. This I did (although my corps has not yet been put on permanent duty) for the means of preservation from nocturnal assassination and to prevent surprise. All this duty my trusty men perform'd with alacrity. I communicated my conduct to Brigadier-General Campbell, commanding our Northern District, who had the goodness to approve of it.

"This morning a company of blackguards and wretches below all description were assembled in the Market-house by Macartney, the vicar of this place, and a paper written by Macartney was sent to me proposing for the town men to do the duty without my soldiers; and to give it an air of plausibility it was alledg'd that it would ease my men who might be harass'd by continual nightly watching, etc., etc. I evidently saw (for I knew the man) that this was only an insidious plot to get *me* to sanction *their* schemes by acting and co-operating with them. They are rebels almost to a man. Such a tumultuous bloodthirsty rabble I will be bold to say you never saw, my Lord, nor did Europe, but in *France* and *Ireland*. So I sent a respectable clergyman to tell them in answer to their paper (which they thought very cleverly and cunningly contriv'd) that I could not give my sanction to any such associations, and self-created military bands, that I conceiv'd them to be very improper, not to say illegal; that my Corps, whose fidelity, valour, good conduct and discipline are so well known, and had kept

this town in the most dangerous times, was sufficient to keep and preserve good order, and repel the attacks of any enemy, and that I would never attempt to sanction any levy of troops without being authorised by Government.

"Immediately Macartney, in the distortion of a paroxysm of rage, foaming at the mouth like a man in a canine madness, after the most insane and wild frantic declamation, declar'd he would *have me broke of my Commission*. At every word he pronounc'd he was regal'd by the loudest plaudits, and the most tumultuous roaring and backing of the noisy mob. The clergyman declar'd to me he thought himself in danger of assassination, and if that infernal rabble of wild Irish rebels were to be arm'd the most horrid consequences would ensue. Hostilities between them and my men would be inevitable, and blood, certainly, would flow copiously.

"Oh, my Lord, is it possible that Government would ever confide a military department to this atrocious villain, a man than whom a more mad exists not out of Bedlam, a coward who ran away from Antrim when the battle commenced, a friend to numbers of United villains, a fellow void of honor, probity and every virtue? My Lord, I have to beseech your Excellency not to let him have the slightest authority as a military man (which he is not, and never was). To strike him off the list of magistrates would be the wisest measure that could be adopted in this town, at this crisis, and I most strenuously beseech your Excellency's attention to this. And next, for G—d's sake, my good Lord, let me have the arms for my last 25 recruits and put us on permanent duty.

"The peace of the town will be preserv'd, and the place defended from any enemy. I shall co-operate with and under the direction of General Campbell, our Commander; and his and your Excellency's orders in all things shall be punctually executed. But for G—d's sake, my Lord, no innovator, and, above all things, no infernal monster like Macartney, the Vicar not of Jesus Christ but of Satan.

"I await your Excellency's orders with more impatience than I can express; and have the honor to be, with all confidence, my Lord, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

"MASSEREENE."

CHAPTER VIII

THE LORD LIEUTENANT GETS THE GARTER

ON the conclusion of the Special Commission for the trial of the Dublin prisoners, the Lord Lieutenant sent the following official report of the results to the Home Secretary:

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*11th October*, 1803.

"SIR,

"On Wednesday last the Special Commission for trying the prisoners concerned in the late Insurrection closed, not from having disposed of all the prisoners, but because it was necessary that a new Commission should now issue for the discharge of the ordinary public business, which, of course, supersedes the former. The prisoners yet to be tried are of a description not fit to be passed over either from mercy or contempt. Others may hereafter be apprehended who are of greater consequence. But it is evident from what has appeared on the trials, as well as by documents transmitted to your office from time to time, that the persons principally concerned in the late outrages have been brought to justice.

"It gives me much satisfaction to find that however active and malignant the infatuated partisans of Mr. Emmet have been, the extent of the conspiracy has not appeared to be such as to warrant the supposition that any large proportion of the people of the country have been corrupted; and as scarcely a single outrage has taken place anywhere since the 23rd of July—although the scenes which passed in the Metropolis on that day might well have excited to similar violences in the country

—I am sanguine in thinking that I have not been disappointed in my opinion that the general disposition and the loyalty of the people of the country was improved,—an object to which I have so anxiously applied my exertions here, and the failure of which would have occasioned me so much real concern.

"The conviction of Mr. Emmet has been particularly fortunate, as in his person the most guilty agent in the conspiracy has suffered, and connected with his conviction the principal designs of his desperate associates have been developed.

"Redmond, who has also suffered, was in the confidence of Emmet, and although without any considerable talents or education, yet from his enthusiastic turn of mind he was to be considered as a most dangerous associate in such a cause. Rourke, the son of an inn-keeper at Rathcoole, had been deeply engaged in the Rebellion of 1798, and was supposed to have committed some murders while he held a command among the rebels. He was armed in the streets on the night of the 23rd July, and his sanguinary disposition seems to have been the chief recommendation to the rank of a leader which it is supposed he held on the late occasion. Fourteen besides these were convicted and have been executed. They were all persons in inferior situations of life, and are only of consequence from the relative importance of the parts they were to act in the Insurrection.

"Kearney, the first person tried, was taken by the King's troops in the act of encouraging and commanding the pikemen to advance. Byrne, a baker, had been employed to reconnoitre the works at the Pigeon House, and his Majesty's stores in Townsend Street. Kirwan, a tailor, was much in the confidence of the leaders. He was employed by them to make their laced uniforms, and was apprised of all their signals. Hayes, who had been in the Kildare Militia, and McCann, a publican, were little inferior to Rourke in atrocity; and Keenan, a carpenter, was supposed to be one of the actual murderers of Lord Kilwarden. Mackintosh, a carpenter, besides being armed on the night of the Insurrection, was an active agent in preparing the machines and the gunpowder, which were to be made use of on the occasion. He was proprietor of the house in Patrick Street which served as a sort of workshop to the greater depot in

Bridgefoot Street which Howley rented, who was also convicted and executed, and who confessed his having murdered Colonel Browne with his own hand.

"The other persons executed were guilty of little more than being armed with pikes on the night of the 23rd July. Of these it was thought fit to make an example in order to convince the populace that if they became the instruments of treason they must expect to suffer for it.

"Two only of the whole number brought to trial were acquitted, Doran and McDermott; and in the case of the former the jury expressly declared that they were satisfied the prosecutor believed what he said to be true; and in the latter the counsel for the prisoner proceeded on an admission to the same effect; and in each case the defence was expressly rested on a doubt whether the witnesses might not be mistaken as to the identity of the prisoners. These instances, therefore, brought no discredit on the prosecutions, and have no other effect than to shew with what integrity and correctness justice has been administered.

"I wish I could add that the persons convicted had acknowledged their guilt at the place of execution. Emmet, Mackintosh, Redmond, and Howley, directly avowed it; many were silent, and others persisted in denying the justice of their sentence. Of this, a striking instance occurred in the case of Rourke, who was more than usually solemn in the protestation of innocence, though the Government are now in possession of a written offer sent by him after conviction to make a full disclosure on a promise that his life should be saved, an offer which it was not thought proper to accept.

"I cannot close this despatch without expressing the entire satisfaction I have felt in the very able and prudent conduct of the Crown lawyers in carrying on those prosecutions. I believe instances have rarely occurred in which a series of State Trials have been carried through with so little interruption to the complete proof in each case, and such entire satisfaction to a very able Bench, to respectable and impartial juries, and to every description of persons not immediately connected with those wretched men who have forfeited their lives. It will be particularly agreeable to me if you will, at a fit opportunity, represent to his Majesty the services of the

Attorney and Solicitor-General on this occasion, whose exertions and conduct have done great honour to themselves, and have been at the same time of very essential benefit to the general interests, honour, and credit of his Majesty's Government in this country."

Subsequently, the Lord Lieutenant, in a letter to the Home Secretary, suggested that, following a precedent which had been set after the Rebellion of 1798, the prisoners still awaiting trial should be discharged on condition that they joined the Army. His Excellency writes:

"It will necessarily happen that after the trials a very considerable number will remain in the gaols and military prisons whom it will not be expedient to bring to trial, but who stand in that degree of criminality that it would be extremely dangerous to suffer them to be again at large in this country, and many of whom were concerned in the Rebellion which broke out here in the year 1798.

"They are men who, with few exceptions, would be fit to serve in his Majesty's Armies abroad, and most if not nearly the whole of them would probably be induced to enlist to avoid a prosecution. I would therefore submit it to the consideration of His Majesty's Ministers whether a mode should not, without loss of time, be settled for having these men disposed of either by sending them to join corps already in the West Indies, or on such other service as shall be thought best, taking care, however, as far as possible, that none of them by any exchange of service should hereafter be allowed to return into this country."

But, as the reply of the Home Secretary shows, the Commander-in-Chief refused to sanction the proposal. Charles Yorke writes, under date October 25, 1803, to the Viceroy:

"I have submitted these letters to the consideration of the Commander-in-Chief, and I beg leave to enclose a copy of the answer I have just received from his Royal Highness, by which your Excellency will observe that his Royal Highness cannot feel himself justified in concurring in a measure from which he conceives mischief

and inconvenience might ensue far greater than the comparative benefit which would result to the publick from its adoption. Under these circumstances it will become necessary to resort to some other mode of disposing of the men in question. I know not whether it will be judged practicable or expedient to receive them into the service of the East India Company, but I will consult with Lord Castlereagh on the subject, and will let your Excellency know the result as soon as possible."

The Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief, in his letter to the Home Secretary, encloses a copy of a communication which he directed to be sent to the military authorities in Ireland, in 1802, explaining the reasons why he was induced to put a stop to the practice of sending to the regiments in the West Indies men taken up in Ireland for treasonable practices :

" I am directed by the Commander-in-Chief to transmit to you herewith for the information of Lord Hobart extract of a letter from Lieutenant-General Grinfield, commanding the forces in the Leeward Islands, relative to the culprits sent from Ireland to serve as soldiers in the West Indies, with copy of a return of the men of that and similar descriptions which have been sent there since the beginning of the year 1799. This is a subject which the Commander-in-Chief requests to commend to Lord Hobart's particular consideration as a growing inconvenience to the Service and the public. The former is demonstrated in the enclosed return, which shows the great increase of that description of men in the several Regiments remaining in the Leeward Islands who, being proscribed from returning to Great Britain and Ireland, must necessarily, as they become unfit for service, fall a burthen on the public or be turned adrift in that country. His Royal Highness therefore desires to submit to Lord Hobart the expediency of discontinuing to send men of the description in question as soldiers to the West Indies."

* * *

Emmet's first lieutenants, Quigley and Stafford, were still at large. But on October 13, 1803, Wickham, the Chief Secretary, writing to Pole Carew of the Home Office, announces their arrest at a farm-house in the

county of Galway. "Quigley," he says, "is by far the cleverest man I have yet seen or conversed with of all the Rebels." He adds: "Stafford is, I think, almost without exception, the finest-looking man I ever saw." "They had, like Emmet," he says, "their black stocks on when taken, and all the rest of their military uniform, except the green coat."*

On October 29 Wickham writes to Pole Carew:

"After several communications with Quigley, some direct, others carried on through Dr. Trevor, the physician to the gaol, the gentleman has at last consented to make a full disclosure of all he knows, without concealing a name of any person, high or low, and without any stipulation whatever on the part of the Government. He has only expressed a strong desire that the lives of *five persons*, all of whom he led into the conspiracy, may be spared, if his disclosures should appear to the Government to be made fairly and without reserve, and of sufficient importance to merit such an act of mercy and favour.

"Of the five persons that he has named—viz., Stafford, the two Perotts, Frayne, and Condon—two are already engaged secretly in the service of the Government (one of them being the very man who betrayed Quigley himself); against a third there is no evidence; the fourth has a young wife and eight small children, and both the third and fourth are the sons of an Englishman of as good and loyal a character as any man in the United Kingdom.† When the father removed to the county of Galway as gardner and land surveyor to Mr. Blake of Ardfry, a gentleman of very large landed property in that county, he unfortunately left these two young men behind him in the neighbourhood of Maynooth, where they fell into the hands of Lord Edward FitzGerald, whose attentions to them they were unable to resist, and so entered deeply into the Rebellion.

"The question of shewing mercy to Quigley has been well and deliberately discussed. It was determined from the first, considering the very important part he had acted in the conspiracy, not to hear of any terms or stipulations of any kind that he might attempt to insist

* From Home Office Papers.
† This refers to the two Perotts.

upon either for himself or others. This was so distinctly signified, and so often repeated to him, in answer to every condition that he wished to attach to the disclosures he offered to make that he yesterday threw himself and his friends on the mercy of Government, and immediately gave me some *local* information of considerable importance, the substance of which will be communicated to you from time to time for Mr. Yorke's information. At present we are busily employed acting upon it.

"It is my own opinion that the knowledge that Quigley is giving information to Government will do more towards pacifying the country and terrifying the disaffected than the execution of twenty men of his rank and station in life; whilst his known abilities and the confidence reposed in him by the party will make so considerable an impression on the publick mind as to the importance and extent of the discoveries it is in his power to make, that I can answer for the publick opinion being strongly in favour of the measure that the Lord Lieutenant has determined to adopt of sparing his life if his disclosures be sincere and full.

"I ought at the same time to add that I do not expect *very much* of new matter from his disclosures; and that I look more to them as reducing our doubts and suspicions to certainty, than as likely to open *much* new light on the proceedings of the disaffected."

* * *

Michael Dwyer, the insurgent leader, still held out on the Wicklow hills. In reference to him the Viceroy sent the following letter to the Home Secretary:

"DUBLIN CASTLE,
"*14th Nov.*, 1803.

"SIR,

"I beg leave to send you inclosed the copy of a Proclamation which issued on Tuesday last offering large rewards for apprehending Michael Dwyer, the noted rebel, who still maintains himself in the fastnesses of the county of Wicklow, and has acquired an extraordinary ascendency over the inhabitants of those parts.

"I am in great hopes, if neither the rewards offered in the above Proclamation, nor the threats by which they are accompanied, should be attended with success, that

some more active measures which I have concerted with the Commander of His Majesty's Forces will tend ultimately to secure this man and enable me to bring him to punishment.

"Before the Proclamation issued I offered him a retreat from the kingdom with all his family and several of his relations, a measure which I thought it right to take, as well on account of the little hope I had been taught to entertain of being able to apprehend him by any ordinary means, as because his having taken an active part in the Insurrection of the 23rd July seemed to present a fair pretext for removing from the country a very dangerous rebel by an act of lenity and indulgence which the loyal part of the country could not possibly disapprove. He thought proper, however, to reject my offer, trusting, as I have reason to believe, to his being able to make a new effort on the landing of the French, an event which he is taught to consider as very near, and represents to his associates as certainly to take place before the winter."

I find in the Home Office Papers the following description of the insurgent leader :

"Michael Dwyer is aged about 34 years ; 5 ft. 10 inches high ; very straight in the back ; short neck and square shoulders ; a little in-kneed ; rather long-legged, with a little rise on the shin-bones ; very long feet ; black hair and dark complexion ; broad across the eyes, which are black ; short cocked nose, wide mouth, thin lips, even teeth, but stand separate ; very long from the nose to the end of the chin ; full breasted and rather full faced ; born in Imael, co. Wicklow."

At length, on December 14, 1803, Dwyer, his wife, and several of his followers surrendered themselves to Captain Hume, M.P., of Hume Wood, Wicklow. Brigadier-General W. C. Beresford, sending the news to General Sir Charles Asgill, Dublin, says :

"I have reason to believe that the assurances which have been given to him that his life shall be spared have been somewhat stronger than there has been warrant for, as the fellow does not appear to have any anxiety or doubt on that head. Capt. Hume, however, tells me

that he has thrown himself unconditionally on the mercy of Government, he promising him to use his personal interest with Government to save his life. I cannot, however, omit saying that if solicitations on this head will or can be listened to, none deserve to be more attended to than those of Capt. Hume, as his zeal, activity and exertions have been unremitted and indefatigable.

"The account which Dwyer gives of the dispositions of the people is to us very satisfactory, and the more so as it is corroborated by every person with whom I have of late conversed on the subject, as well as by the unasked-for declarations and protestations of the people themselves."

The prisoners were tried and sentenced to transportation to Botany Bay. The last glimpse we get of them on their way to Australia is afforded by the following letter signed "John Conellan," and addressed to Alexander Marsden, the Under-Secretary, from Madeira, where the convict ship had called:

"The Captain has been remarkably attentive and humane to the convicts, having taken the whole charge upon himself to see the prison washed, scrubed and swabed perfectly dry every day, and fumigating occasionally. From the good conduct of the convicts, he has taken the irons off twelve of them, and all the rest have but one leg in irons. Their state of health in general is very good, but we have not been free of fever since they came on board. The greatest discontent that prevails among them is the want of tobacco, which I understand was ordered for them by you, but was neglected to be sent on board from Cork; but the Captain, always attentive to their complaints, went on shore this day for the purpose of buying as much tobacco as will be sufficient for them until we arrive at Rio Janeiro.

"Dwyer's party have behaved very well. Their women occupy one of the hospitals. The Captain has been remarkably civil to them, particularly to Byrne's wife, who is far advanced in pregnancy. He frequently sends her fresh soup, mutton, etc., from his own table. In short all the convicts, men and women, seem highly sensible of the Captain's humane attention to them, and I hope they will continue to deserve it."

It is interesting to learn that Michael Dwyer ultimately joined the police, and for eleven years was High Constable of Sydney. He died in 1826.

* * *

What was the condition of Ireland after the suppression of the Insurrection? On that subject "J. W.," or Leonard MacNally, thus reported to Dublin Castle:

"*3rd December*, 1803.

"The suspension of the Yeomanry from permanent duty has not been followed by the slightest instance of an alarming nature. On the contrary, the City has been, ever since that event, perfectly tranquil, neither robbery, riot, tumult, nor indication of sedition, or even private quarrel having appeared.

"The theatre is tolerably attended. The audience peaceable and zealously loyal in their plaudits on every occasion that offers, and, indeed, every sentiment in favour of the British Constitution, the British Navy, British bravery, etc., etc., is received and marked with the most zealous approbation.

"The Rebellion I consider as completely down, unless a foreign foe should succeed in landing. The country gentlemen daily coming to Dublin to attend the Terms, and daily receiving letters from the country, give the strongest assurance that the peasantry are quiet, attentive to industry, and, in many places, strong in their declarations against the admission of a French force. I have reason to believe that the Roman Catholic clergy have been extremely serviceable in impressing the minds of the common people with the dread of a French Government, and I can assure you that the statements made on this subject by the Counsel for the prisoners recently tried for treason has produced very considerable and very general effect.* Such is really the situation of the country, that unless a general hypocrisy prevails, and veil the real sentiments of the people, nothing can be more true or better founded than what the King says in his Speech respecting this country.

"Mr. Fox is egregiously wrong.† He founds his

* This, of course, is a reference to MacNally himself.

† Fox had said in the House of Commons that there was no evidence of the conspirators having sought the aid of France.

opinion on Emmet's declaration in public when on trial. But sure Mr. Fox could never have read Emmet's speech, in which my private note coincides with that published by Mr. Ridgeway. He says: 'I am charged with being an emissary from France for the purpose of inciting insurrection in the country, and then delivering it over to the enemy'; and this he denies. But does he not say: 'It is true there were communications between the United Irishmen and France,' and that at the moment he spoke 'there was a new agent at Paris negotiating with the French Government to obtain from them aid sufficient to accomplish the separation of Ireland from England'? The only question was whether she was to come as 'an enemy or as a friend,'—in whatever way she was to come to Ireland Mr. Fox must allow she was to come as an enemy to England.

"Mr. Emmet assured my friend* on the day of his execution, that his brother and others in Paris had negotiated for a French force; that if they came with a treaty they ought to be joined, and that if Ireland was once separated from England by treaty she ought to establish her independence against both France and England by beating the French out of the island, if they remained as conquerors. Emmet had no objection to French aid by treaty; he only objected to France conquering Ireland for herself.

"Mr. Fox's assertion is considered here with great contempt by every man who has a knowledge of what was the system of United Irishmen. The aid of France was their great dependence; without it they will not act. Emmet, with a luxuriant imagination, an ambitious mind, and a very weak understanding, acted from the impulse of such a disposition; and as he said himself, on the day of his death, a hope of being able to head an Irish army and render the aid of France unnecessary. But be assured of this, his frantic conduct has been considered by those United Irishmen who were of his brother's school as a brain blow to their politics. Their object was not even to give cause of suspicion to Government until a landing from France were completely effected and to rise as the French moved through the country. Emmet knew this, and so did many of the fugitives in Paris.

"J. W."

* Here again MacNally is referring to himself.

It was said in Paris that the version of Emmet's speech in the dock published by Ridgeway was a fabrication in the interest of the Government, especially the declaration against the French, which, it was asserted, Emmet had never delivered.* A later communication from "J. W." deals with that subject. Dated February 8, 1804, and addressed "A. Marsden, Esq., etc., Castle," it is endorsed "secret information," with the initials, no doubt in Marsden's handwriting, "McN.":

"A Doctor Harnadge is arrived from New York, on what business I know not. He brought letters and a newspaper to *my friend*† from Charles Smith, late of St. Mary's Abbey, an old and true friend to the Republican party. He writes to my friend thus: '9th December, 1803. This day we have had an account of the execution of Captain Russell. His death and R. Emmet's are much regretted by the people of this truly happy land. I am requested by a number of the most respectable characters here to request of you to send out Mr. Emmet's speech on his trial in manuscript that we may give it a fair publication in our papers. I am very happy to inform you that every good Republican in America not only respects the Irish, but loves them.'

"In the newspaper, which is a Government print, is a long elegiac poem to the memory of Emmet. And Smith encloses a letter to Hans Dennison of Longford, inviting him in the name of his brother in New York to come out and reside there, and to bring his father with him.

"My friend intends sending the MS. of Emmet. Its publication will contradict the assertion in the *Moniteur* that Ridgeway's report is not genuine.

"J. W."

* From the diary of Thomas Addis Emmet: "Paris, October 20th, 1803.—Swiney has brought me the details of my dearest Robert's trial and execution. His conduct is my only consolation for his loss, but his speech, as given by the English Government, would be very offensive here." "January 21st, 1804.—Mr. O'Reilly arrived from Ireland, and brought me some extracts of my brother's speech, which completely contradicted the abuse he had been said to utter against the French. I therefore determined to lose no time in laying this before the Government, together with more details he had given me respecting the political and military situation of England and Ireland."

† My friend is, of course, MacNally himself.

"Doctor Harnadge shall not be forgotten.

"Smith says: 'Dennison's relations here are the most respectable of this State.'"*

* * *

In the debates in the House of Commons the Irish Administration had been severely criticised for its lack of previous information about the conspiracy, and the hesitation and feebleness of the military measures for its suppression; and to the indignation of Hardwicke, Addington's defence was half-hearted and apologetic. General Fox had been recalled from Ireland, only to be placed in command of the London district. This was regarded by Hardwicke as another affront. But in November, 1803, came something in the nature of a salve to his feelings in an offer of the Garter by the Prime Minister:

"DOWNING STREET,
"*Nov.* 18, 1803.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"Having felt it to be due to your Excellency's station and services to bring under his Majesty's consideration your just pretensions to the dignity of the Garter, I have great satisfaction in acquainting you of his Majesty's gracious intention that you should supply the vacancy occasioned by the death of the Marquis of Stafford.

"I will only add that his Majesty is fully aware that no wish upon this subject has been expressed, nor the slightest intimation given either by your Excellency or any of your friends or connections."

* "Catholics may care to know, though they will hardly attach much importance to the accession, that Leonard McNally, 'after life's fitful fever,' sank into the bosom of Rome. Father Smith of Townsend Street Chapel, on February 13, 1820, gave him the last rites. This priest, having got word that 'the Counsellor' wished to see him, went to his house in Harcourt Street, where Mrs. McNally informed him that her husband was then asleep, and must not be disturbed. McNally's son, who happened to be coming downstairs at the moment, reproved his stepmother for the indisposition she evinced to admit the clergyman, adding: 'Can't you let him go to the devil his own way?' He then conducted the priest to the sick man's room."—W. J. FITZPATRICK: *Secret Service under Pitt.*

Writing from Dublin Castle on November 22, 1803, Hardwicke thus accepted the honour:

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am really at a loss to express to you the grateful sense I entertain of his Majesty's gracious intention, which you have communicated to me in so friendly and handsome a manner, to confer upon me the very honourable distinction of the Garter. Highly flattered as I must necessarily have been at any period by so singular a mark of his Majesty's favour, the value of it is greatly enhanced by the moment, as well as by the manner, in which it is bestowed, since I consider it as a proof that my humble but anxious endeavours to pursue a system in Ireland adapted to the circumstances of the time, and suitable to his Majesty's gracious views and objects, have not been entirely disapproved by my Sovereign.

"I must request you to lay me at his Majesty's feet, and to convey my humble and dutiful, but certainly inadequate, expressions of grateful acknowledgment."

Among the congratulations which the conferring of this honour brought to Hardwicke was the following characteristic epistle from Dr. Thomas B. Clarke:

"24, ALSOP BUILDINGS, MARY-LA-BONNE,
"*26th Nov.*, 1803.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I am proud to acknowledge that I have more obligation to your Excellency than to almost any other man. For, during the honour of a long acquaintance, during youth and manhood to this moment, and while immersed in the proceedings of policy and State, you have displayed one characteristic throughout—you never deceived me. But, my Lord, I am not *laudator temporis acti se puero*, though Time does bring on me, with no unsparing hand, its afflictions, and menaces me by warnings of speedy and more serious losses. For, whatever years take from or bring on me, I rejoice that they will never take from your Excellency public esteem or private love, for the sense, virtue, and charity which have distinguished your government of Ireland And the most honourable and adequate proof of this exists in the gracious act of his Majesty, yesterday, by conferring on your Excellency the Order of the Garter.

"I have reason to say that no man is better instructed on the state of Ireland than his Majesty. I do therefore most sincerely and with pride—for I feel no ordinary interest in your well-doing and well-being—congratulate your Excellency on this deserved mark of Royal approbation. May Heaven preserve and prosper your Family, your Government, your Life, your Health, and your Friendships. Ireland has long wanted, and may it long retain, such a model; and we, who have the honor of long knowing you, want the aid of such a friend and such a man.

"Futurity, however, will possess you. And had I not been so long studying in order to live, without yet being able to live in order to study, I had formed the plan of writing the history of a particular period, wherein the importance of the events and the protection of your Excellency's name, and others concerned in them, might perhaps have handed down to posterity the author's memory. But whether I live or die, with respect to the present or future generations, be assured that I am with the highest veneration and gratitude, fond of your virtues, and bound by your kindness to be always, my dear Lord, your Excellency's humble, obedient, and faithful servant,

"THOS. B. CLARKE."

Here, also, is an amusing letter from the Bishop of Norwich, as Registrar of the Order of the Garter:

"*December the 9th*, 1803.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"As an old acquaintance, and one always affecting your Lordship's friendship, you will allow me to congratulate with you on the late accession to your Honors. As Registrar of the Order, it belongs to me to record your election, and to attach to the record such historical facts or fictions as my knowledge of you may furnish or ingenuity invent. In the original Register called 'The Liber Niger' (a very proper name for a book of scandal, tho' some people will tell you that it is so called because covered with black velvet) there are found several curious anecdotes and a good deal of scandalous history written in passable Latin.

"At the close of the last Reign, or beginning of this, the entries were ordered to be made in English, and the

Registrar, of course, has lost his opportunity of making known his classical talents, but his talent for lying is left perfectly at large. I shall, therefore, take leave to deliver your Excellency over to Posterity as the most corrupt, abandoned and tyrannical Viceroy that ever presided over an abused and virtuous people.

" From, my dear Lord, your sincere friend,

" C. NORWICH.

" P.S.—It is my duty to mention to your Lordship that his Majesty has authorised me to call upon you for Fifty Pounds as a subscription to the fund established by the Knights of the Garter for the repair of the painted windows and other decorations of St. George's Chapel."

The reply of Hardwicke to this communication was not couched in the same vein of humour. It betrays his dissatisfaction with Addington's weak and vacillating defence in the House of Commons of the Irish Administration in connexion with the Emmet Insurrection. Marked " Private," and dated " Dublin Castle, December 19, 1803," it runs :

" The honour itself, for which I could never have been in contemplation, except from the situation in which I happen to have been placed, certainly received additional value in my estimation from the moment at which it was conferred. I will not, however, conceal from you that some declarations respecting the 23rd of July (if we are to believe reports of debates in Parliament) were lately drawn from persons, who might have been better informed, not strictly correct. This I conceive to have originated from a desire to satisfy all parties, a policy which, however commendable, generally fails of success.

" I have no wish to enrich the Liber Niger. I shall therefore confide my character, whether it be recorded in Latin or in English, to your hands. I shall always be desirous of a continuance of your Lordship's friendship and good opinion, because, without a compliment, I am very sensible of their value."

* * *

The Lord Lieutenant was so angry because of the feeble defence of his Administration by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons that he had a long statement

prepared asserting that the Irish Government had been adequately informed beforehand of the conspiracy, and that its outbreak on the night of July 23 was due entirely to the absence of proper military arrangements by General Fox, and copies of this statement he sent to his particular friends in both Houses of Parliament. Among the replies he received was this from Lord Warren-Bulkeley:

"*Private.*

"POYNTON, STOCKPORT,
"*Jan.* 24, 1804.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I had your kind and confidential letter of ye 14th, and you may depend on me that I shall not abuse ye trust you have reposed in me; and I hope no further discussions will take place in Parliament on a matter which may do much mischief and no good. But if they do I shall speak in Society as a friend of yours, and according to ye honest truths you have related to me, without quoting your Lordship's name, for we all know that discussions in Society on great political questions and differences have much to do with those in Parliament, and *vice versâ*.

"I will not disguise from your Lordship that great industry has been used by ye most violent of The Orange Party to represent ye affair of July as a compleat Rebellion, *and a surprise* on the Government of Ireland, for which they were unprepared, and of which they were not aware and informed; and by The Catholics as a trifle, a little riot, not worthy of ye name of Insurrection, much less of Rebellion. In saying this I only relate to you what The Sons of St. Patrick of different persuasions said and do say, for many of them have fallen in my way in Wales, where there are *too* many of them; and you know they differ with The Scotch—who are very guarded—and let out their opinions whatever they are, wise or foolish, right or erroneous, hasty or digested, to everybody and before everybody; and *there are reasons* which occasion their being seldom contradicted, whether they talk like men of understanding, like fools, or like knaves, or like all three. I must, however, do them all ye justice to say that in general they speak very handsomely of

your Lordship and Lady Hardwicke, and that you are both very popular and respected characters in Ireland.

"I am afraid from your letter many circumstances are very unpleasant to you; but all successive English Governments don't pay half attention enough to ye affairs of Ireland; and ye consequence of that neglect on ye part of all English Cabinets your Lordship feels ye effects of, as well as your predecessors, many of whom I have heard have made bitter complaints and strong remonstrances, but in vain. *Telle cause Tel Effet*, and till The English Cabinet have a good system relative to Ireland, and support that system without varying and changing, and support their Viceroys in ye same manner, The Unruly Spirit of the Irish cannot be kept down, except by ye sword, ye firelock, and ye bayonet.

"The Orangeman and The Catholic of Ireland are, in my opinion, so full of inveteracy and uncharitableness than an angel from Heaven could not settle ye unfortunate differences of opinion which agitate, inflame, and separate them; and I do most sincerely pity a liberal, sensible, right-minded man like your Lordship who at any time, and particularly ye times we now live in, is placed in ye responsible situation you are, in ye midst of such a people. However, ye greater ye risk and danger, ye greater The Honor and Glory. I have no doubt you will get through it with credit, as you have hitherto done; but your situation is a very difficult one, as I am sure Fox and The Hutchinsons will push The Catholic Emancipation ye ensuing Sessions, and ye agitation of ye question, however small ye minority, or great ye majority, will set ye common people of Ireland several degrees more mad and bloodthirsty and murderous than they are at present.

"Excuse all this nonsense on my part, my dear Lord; and with my compliments to Lady Hardwicke and with every good wish, believe me, with much regard and esteem, your sincere and faithful,

"WARREN-BULKELEY."

* * *

In January, 1804, the Lord Lieutenant was startled to learn from the Hon. George Knox, M.P. for Dublin University, that in June, 1803, he had been the means through which information of the existence of the Emmet

conspiracy had been communicated to William Wickham, the Chief Secretary, and that Wickham, probably believing it to be unfounded, took no action. The information came from Peter Burrowes, a lawyer, who had been one of the most active and eloquent opponents of the measure of the Union in the House of Commons. In confirmation of his story Knox sent to Hardwicke the following most interesting extract from his private Diary:

"*June* 1*st*, 1803, *London*.—Received the following letter from P. Burrowes:

"'*May 28th*.

"'MY DEAR KNOX,

"'Since I sealed my letter I have had a communication by mere accident which inclines me to think I misinformed you on the chief point of my letter. I am sorry to say that I think there is an invisible revolutionary Government in great forwardness and activity, and that they have numerous partisans in the City of Dublin, and all through Leinster, in the City of Limerick and other parts. I believe also, notwithstanding Mr. Bell's assurance, that Arthur O'Connor is the principal agent between the French Government and the emissaries here, who are all men of inferior rank in life, but of boldness and talents, natives of this country, and some of them engaged, but not much noticed, in the battles which were fought. I understand that several such men had quantities of gold in Dublin, of which they were very liberal. The person who spoke to me is a man of perfect veracity, who would be received to any degree of confidence by the party, who is rather of a Republican cast, but a man of feeling and conscience, and perfectly awake to the final inefficacy of a struggle and the misery which would attend it. He is also a man having a family, and considerable prospects in a profession. He has no scruple of giving any information which may tend to defeat the revolutionary objects, but will not do anything which a man of principle and honor ought not to do. I know him above twenty years, and am certain of his sincerity and truth. If I should learn anything from him I really know not any person through whom I could communi-

cate it to Government without the hazard of some unpleasant consequences. My friend is a Roman Catholic, and not a lawyer.

" ' Yours truly,
" ' P. BURROWES.'

" I answered that I should keep the secret, and speak to the Minister. I showed Addington the letter in the House, having previously torn off the signature. He expressed himself obliged, thought it a matter to be attended to, and wished me to speak about it to Lord Castlereagh.

" *Friday, June 3rd*, 1803, *London*.—Saw Wickham. We settled that Burrowes should write to Marsden under the signature of ' Junius.'

" *Friday, June 10th, London*.—Received a letter from Burrowes. The design of the rebels is to prepare the common people for a rising, but not to organize them; not to arm them individually, but to have depots of arms for them when the insurrection was to begin. The great object then to be to seize upon the Capital. The French at the same time that they are to invade England are to land somewhere between Wicklow and Dublin, which is to be the signal for an attack upon the Capital from without and from within. Left his letter at Wickham's.

" *Monday, June 13th*, 1803, *London*.—A letter from P. Burrowes. He consents that his name should be known to Wickham, and that he should communicate with him or Mr. Flint. Another person, a friend of his, who ought to know the proceedings of the disaffected, gave him a different account from the former, and represents matters more favourably; but he has rather more reliance on the sincerity of the first. Sent Burrowes' letter to Wickham."

The paper containing these extracts from the diary of George Knox has the following note in the handwriting of the Lord Lieutenant:

" N.B.—Not one word of this letter of the 10th of June was communicated to Dublin until after the 23rd of July. Nor did I ever hear of these letters till some time after

Mr. Wickham's arrival in August. I never saw these copies till February, 1804, when the subject had been mentioned in Parliament, and when I procured from Mr. G. Knox what I could not obtain from Mr. Wickham's papers.—H."

In a letter to Lord Cathcart, the new Commander of the Forces in Ireland, dated March 8, 1804, enclosing a copy of this document, the Viceroy says:

"The paper containing intelligence of the intentions of the rebels is very curious at present, because the truth of it has been since, unfortunately, confirmed, and had it been communicated on this side of the water, instead of the other, it might have produced some advantage, as the connexions of the writer were known to have been such as would have given credibility to any information from that quarter."

* * *

The fate of the actors in the drama who survived the Special Commission can be told in a few words. Dowdall and Allan the draper were the only leading members of the conspiracy who succeeded in escaping from the country. Hamilton, Russell's brother-in-law, was not brought to trial, as he, like Quigley, made a full disclosure, on condition that his life was spared. He lay in Kilmainham, with Philip Long, the rich merchant who supplied the funds, Patten, Emmet's friend, Anne Devlin, St. John Mason, and others, under the Act for the suspension of Habeas Corpus. The Act was to expire on March 16, 1806. In February the Whig Government of Grenville and Fox had replaced Pitt's last Administration. Hardwicke, on the eve of his leaving Ireland, urged that the Act should be renewed.

"If it should be thought necessary at the present moment," he wrote, "to require evidence either of existing conspiracy, or extended disaffection, in order to justify a further continuance of the Act, it must be confessed that no such evidence can at this moment be produced."

But he thought that as long as the War with France continued the Government of Ireland ought to be invested with power to arrest and detain in prison persons suspected of disaffection. In reply, Lord Spencer, the new Home Secretary, writing from Whitehall, February 17, 1806, said the Ministers were unanimously of opinion that, in the circumstances, it was impossible for them to propose to Parliament a further suspension of Habeas Corpus. This was in the official letter. In a "private and confidential" communication which accompanied it Spencer writes:

"With regard to Quigley, whose particular case you have noticed in your private letter to me of the 12th instant, it would, no doubt, be highly proper to adopt some means by which the advantage derived from his disposition and power to give useful information should be secured to Government as far as may be; and for this purpose I take the liberty of suggesting that it would be advisable to secure to him whatever remuneration your Excellency may deem reasonable out of the Secret Service Money; and with a view to prevent suspicion of his connection with the Government, I also take the liberty of suggesting that it might be desirable to release him among the last, which, at the same time, would give us the advantage of any intelligence he might obtain pending the gradual liberation of these people, by the same means as I understand him to have used ever since they have been confined."

So in March, 1806, the prisoners were released. Quigley took a farm at Rathcoffey, his native place in Kildare. He was evicted in 1842, but being at the time too ill to be removed, the bailiffs allowed him to remain to die in his old home. Anne Devlin, in her later years a poor Dublin washerwoman, unknown and unnoticed, survived until 1851.

* * *

"They who make half revolutions dig their own graves," says Saint-Just. Every established Government is compelled by the instinct of self-preservation

to brand as "traitors" and to pursue to the death those who by revolution seek its overthrow. But the pathos of failure in a hopeless cause has an irresistible fascination. To humanity it appeals with the glamour of romance. The world will ever refuse to hold in execration the memories of those who give their lives on the gallows for an idea. At any rate, in Ireland the tragic story of Robert Emmet will endure for ever. He is the dearest saint in the calendar of Irish political martyrology. In the humblest cabins of the land may be seen—with the pictures of the Blessed Virgin and St. Patrick—rude portraits of Emmet, as he would wish perhaps to be remembered—in his cocked hat and feathers, his green and gold and white uniform, as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the Irish Republic.

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